The Workers
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MID-
...uary, 1962 (#71) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

ROYAL YORK STRIKE AT TURNING POINT

Mid Jan/62

by P. Kent

Union reinforcements to the 9 month old picket circling Toronto's 40 million dollar Royal York Hotel, the largest in the Commonwealth, dissolved almost as soon as they appeared on the night of January 10. The token picket, quietly called by the UAW Area Officers' Council, despite a cutting wind on the below zero night rallied some 175 autoworkers, teamsters, and sympathizers to support of the harassed striking Hotel and Club Employees Local 299.

It was the distraught president of the local, Joseph Chappelle shouting "We have to run this picket line our way," with the aid of UAW international representatives and over strenuous protests of the volunteers, who broke up the picket by directing it across the road. Frightened by the picket the company closed down the main entrance and directed patrons to another one. Voicing fear of an injunction, Chappelle enforced illegal police instructions that the pickets move rapidly and that no more than three pickets appear at one time under the canopy that spreads some 15 to 20 yards in front of the main entrance. To cries that "you yourself are imposing an injunction," that "this is no way to run a picket line" that "we can do no good across the road here," the pickets ripped off their placards and snowed Chapelle under them.

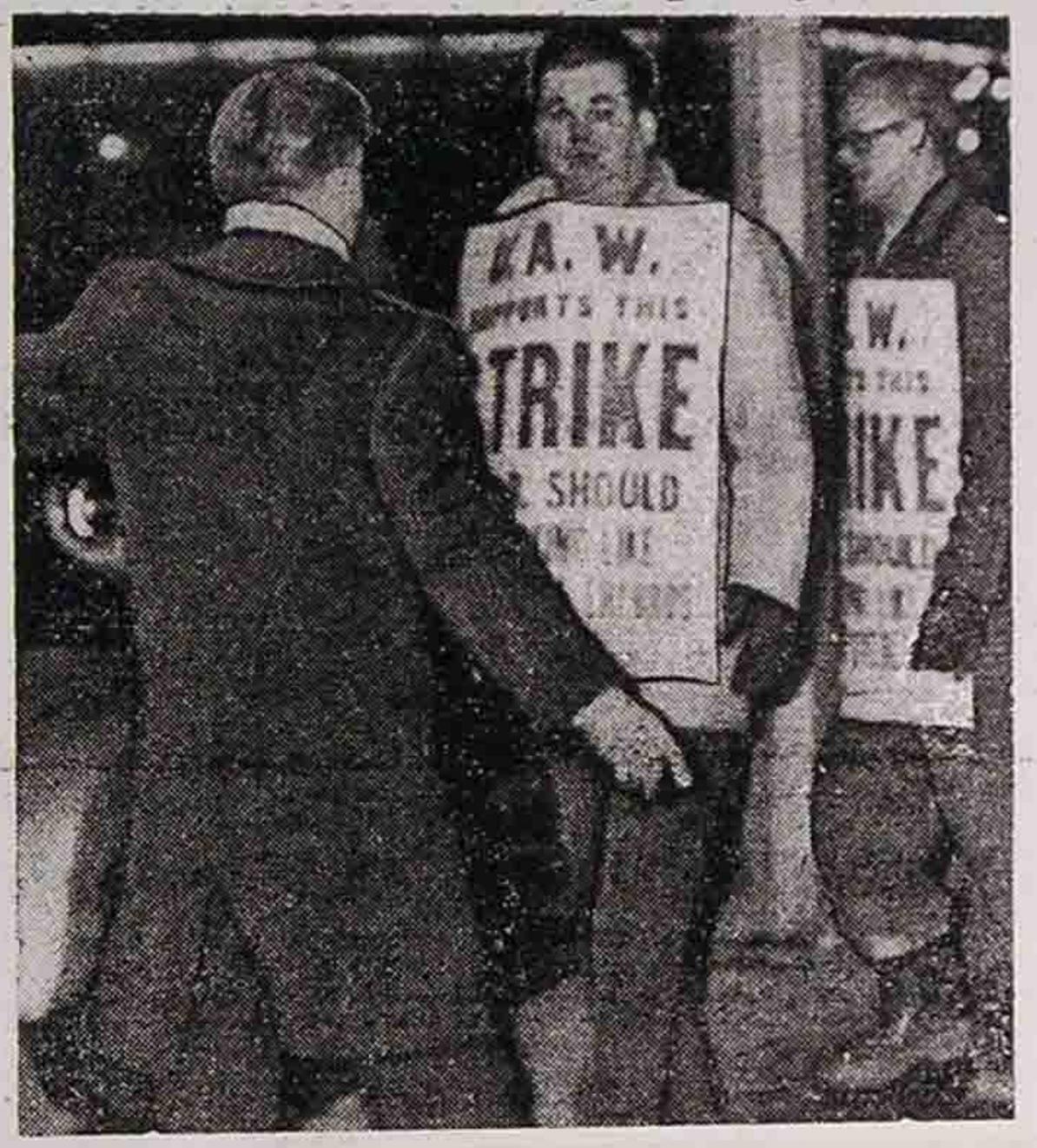
Chapelle's and the international leadership's "way" of conducting the 9 month old strike has been to bank everything on the pressure of public opinion to bring the CPR colossus to heel, and a longstanding tradition in that union of 7 and 5 year long strikes, such as in Columbus, Ohio, and New York City, which at best result not in victories but merely settlements.

But despite the patient determination of the rank and file strikers and the fact that probably no strike in Canadian labor history has won so much public sympathy, the CPR bosses haven't pulled back at all in their aim to smash the union.

Ever since Justice Kellock's compulsory arbitration ruling in 1950 that ordered separate contracts for railway employees and hotel employees, the CPR has been out to make a horrible example of the largely unskilled and semi-skilled hotel workers, most of whom make less than $1 an hour, to the rest of CPR employees. The hotel bosses' last offer was to guarantee only an unspecified percentage of the strikers their jobs and without any seniority whatever, 2½ cents for the next 18 months, and re-

to left column

Killing Royal York Sympathy Picket



Left Column
From right

duction of layoff notices from 7 days to 48 hours.

To top it off the CPR arrogantly flung the challenge to all labor by firing every striker even though they had gone through all the red tape to establish a legal strike. Magistrate Elmore's upholding of this action was in effect a declaration that there is no such thing as a legal strike in Ontario. Chief Justice McRuer reversed this judgment but the CPR bosses have taken the case to the court of appeals and have declared that regardless of the court's decision they won't change their position but will merely pay the fine.

Reluctantly, the Tory city council, all but the mayor, have enforced a boycott on the hotel for all civic functions. Other social

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ROYAL YORK

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service bodies, and of course labor organizations, have refused to use the facilities of this major convention hostlery. But gradually as the strike has extended the token round-the-clock picket has become less effective. A major reversal was scored by the Board of Trade banquet held in honor of retiring Metro Mayor Gardiner and pressure is building up to take the city council off the hook.

The last round looms ahead. The union's international vice-president Archie Johnstone is quoted by the **Star** as saying: "I don't believe the strike ever can be won now," all that can be achieved is a settlement. To be sure Johnstone's and Chappelle's "way", allegedly designed not to alienate public opinion, and its passive acceptance by the leadership of Canada's largest labor council, is gradually, slowly, dissipating and frittering public goodwill all away.

The Royal York strike is everybody's business. The CPR bosses by their challenging the labor laws, which would in effect make all strikes illegal, have blatantly declared it so. When the UAW area council opened the door on January 10 hundreds of militants spontaneously demonstrated the will of Toronto labor not to see the strike go down the drain. They showed how the strike can be won. There is still time, but time is running out.

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The Workers
Vanguard

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Ontario By-Election Results a Warning to All NDPers

by the Editors

The five Ontario by-elections provided a serious test of the electoral strategy of the NDP leadership which is based on the concept that the capitalist Liberal Party is in decline and will disappear and that the polarization of the forces of political reaction around the capitalist Tory party is pressing the forces of liberal opinion towards the New Democratic Party. Consistent with this, looming over and shaping all the discussions of program, before and ever since the founding of the party, is their concept that the labor vote is pretty well in the bag. What is necessary is to not only cleanse the party of any hint of socialism but to modify and soft pedal even those planks where the NDP is anyway different from the Liberals — to make the NDP appear as like the Liberal Party as possible and in this way ease the shift of dissident Liberals over to the NDP.

Well, now we have the results of the five by-elections, the tragic results of the top brass' strategy. The NDP failed to elect one candidate — to take any one of the three seats formerly held by the Tories, including what was thought to be a sure thing — Toronto Beaches. But to top it off not only did the NDP fail to cut into the ranks of Liberal supporters in the two ridings previously held by the Liberals — the Liberals won them with a considerably increased majority, won another seat from the Tories, and may end up after a recount with all of the five seats that were up for election.

Not only did the NDP suffer a defeat, but the Liberals, with the NDP trailing in every riding, have undergone a resurgence. The whole strategy of the leadership has been proven disastrously false.

No one seriously concerned about the future of the NDP will be put off by talk that these by-elections were not a good test of the leadership's policies. Five ridings in populous Ontario is a good sampling — the ridings were widely dispersed — two of them rural, two of them urban, one of which is generally working class, and the fifth, a northern riding centered around a strong unionized town. None of those fielded by the NDP were chance candidates, some, particularly those in Renfrew and Brant could only be considered by the leadership's standard to be exceptionally strong candidates. Beaches

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The Warning of the By-Elections

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could only be considered by the leadership's standards to be a model one—there was a real machine organization lacking nothing in personel, administration, even the gimmicks traditionally associated with the boss parties.

And there was nothing marginal about the results. Unlike most by-elections the vote cast in the 5 ridings exceeded the vote cast in the same ridings in the 1959 general election — over 89,000. The Tories dropped some 10,000 votes but the NDP didn't pick them up — the Liberals did. The NDP only increased the old CCF vote, when you take into account that Renfrew was contested this time, by a mere 2,693 votes. In some working class polls the NDP failed to get the previous CCF vote.

The NDP strategy didn't work. It is apparent that few voters considered the NDP an alternative to the Tories, that few even looked upon the NDP as a ginger group that could serve as a goad, as a body through which to register a protest against a government whose majority was not even at stake. And is it any wonder!

Take the major leaflet distributed over the name of the Eglinton (Toronto) candidate. It doesn't contain one single programmatic commitment — the candidate "takes issue" with the situation prevailing in many fields, the NDP "accepts the challenge" of the same and other situations. The Tories are characterized as "complacent and indifferent", the Liberals as "lazy and self seeking".

It does no good for the official apologists to talk about the objective situation being against change for it is obvious that the NDP, which has sufficient forces to intervene and to some extent modify objective reality, didn't even advocate any serious change.

The NDP leadership attempted to compete for votes on the same grounds as the Liberals. To all effects and purposes it was indistinguishable from the Liberals. Disenchanted Tories remained in the orbit of bourgeois politics by voting Liberal. Doubting Liberal voters, offered no alternative, remained with this traditional and going concern. The NDP offered nothing to awaken the heretofore abstainer.

The NDP campaign didn't seriously come to grips with the tax issue. It didn't unquestionably commit itself to fight for abolition of the hated sales tax. And how could it? Its sitting members didn't oppose it when it was passed, and the Niagara convention studiously avoided it. It didn't even pledge itself to work to establish the 40 hour work week, to which it has been formally committed, to meet the serious unemployment situation. While committed to opposition to nuclear arms on Canadian soil it didn't say a word in opposition to the North Bay Bomarc base which will be put into operation this month by a government tied to a nuclear strategy.

The failure of the NDP leadership to present the NDP as a serious alternative to the Big Business Liberal and Tory parties has struck a grievous blow at the future of the party. If there is no shakeup before the coming federal election it is not excluded that all the promise of the NDP will be dissipated. The left must be organized on a national scale to prevent this.

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Promise and Performance

Mid-Jan '62

The Tory Diefenbaker government tries hard to present itself to Canadians as a generous and benevolent friend of the colonial and oppressed peoples. Mr. Diefenbaker would have us believe that his government, through the Colombo plan and various trade agreements, pumps millions of dollars into those countries where poverty, illiteracy and malnutrition prevail. All in the interests of developing the economy and raising the living standard of the people of course! All in the interests of humanity!

The man who has the power but has done practically nothing for the thousands of workers and their families suffering under the collapsing economy of the Maritimes, is presented by his adulators as all heart — all heart for working people of other lands.

But to the Canadian business man, Diefenbaker shows his real face and quite bluntly reveals the real nature of his government's 'aid'. At a recent gathering of Montreal business men, he said, "I should like to emphasize how our economic assistance programs are not simply charity. Practically the whole amount of $50 million that Canada is contributing annually to the Colombo plan is paid out to Canadian firms and represents a substantial amount of business". Very clear isn't it? Aid from the Tory government is given for one reason only. Bigger and better profits for Canadian capitalists with investments in colonial countries.

Diefenbaker does not have to tell at least some of the colonial people what he means by aid, for they already know. They have learned from practical experience. Cuban trade commissioners and the prime minister of British Guiana, Dr. Jeddi Jagan, recently visited Canada in high hopes of negotiating loans and placing orders for Canadian products. They went home empty handed — Castro turned to those who would give his people aid.

Both the Jagan and Castro governments would have used Canadian loans to help industrialize their countries, to help solve the problem of unemployment and to provide a better and more humane life for their peoples. This kind of aid does not interest Diefenbaker and his masters. He demands guarantees that loans and trade agreement result in making Canadian capitalists richer and more powerful.

Diefenbaker is anxious to appear as a friend of the under-developed countries because he knows that the Canadian people would like their government to be exactly that——a government ready to assist and aid any country that needs help. The Canadian people would like to see the great surplusses which they create used for some meaningful and worthy purpose.

But all who wish to see Canada a genuine and sincere friend of other peoples will have to fight for a different type of Canada — a Canada owned and operated by Canadians for Canadians and the peoples of the world—a socialist Canada. Only then will the struggle for profit be eliminated and the needs and aspirations of the people have top priority as they should.

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Mid-January 1962

CP LEADER MORRIS AND YCL EDITORS

Rehash Stalin Lies About Trotsky In Place of an Honest Inquiry

Mid-Jan/62

By ROSS DOWSON

The discussion of the ramifications of Stalin's role, his influence and its meaning which his downgrading set off is developing at an uneven pace in the world Communist movement. In some parties there are serious attempts at investigation, in others, the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada and the Young Communist League for instance, there are desperate attempts being made to hold back this inexorable process.

Polish party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, seeking a fuller explanation for the social phenomenon of Stalinism, has delved past the Moscow frame-up trials to the resistance by the peasants and workers to the forced collectivations in the early thirties in order to explain Stalin's actions. Now, in the Soviet Union, in an address by Leonid Ilyichev, a member of the secretariat of the central committee of the Communist Party, Stalin is being denounced for grave political errors that leap over the crucial period from 1934 back to 1917 and further back to 1906 and 1908.

Naturally enough with the revelations about Stalin the significance of the role of his major adversary Leon Trotsky, and his ideas, has been again thrust to the fore.

Italian Communist Party leader Pajetta, at a December 1st press conference reported in L'Unita said: "Nowadays in the Soviet Union when someone speaks about Trotsky, he doesn't any longer consider these allegations of criminal character which to some extent have helped justify the condemnation of the Trotskyists. If by rehabilitation you mean establishing Trotsky as a revolutionary not in league with the imperialists in criminal action against the USSR, then we think not only does this problem not exist but that it has indeed been resolved."

The Italian YCL which has opened up a discussion in which Trotsky's views appear to be under favorable examination was criticized by Pajetta who formally separated Trotsky's innocence from the correctness or otherwise of his views. He stated that the struggle against Trotsky "in its essential political elements was a just one."

Grind Out Lying Verdict of Stalin's Treason Trials

In startling contrast is the Canadian Communist movements' press attacks on Trotsky and the Trotskyists. The January issue of the YCL monthly Advance devotes a page to what could be described as a working guide to Trotskyism. The newly elected CP leader Leslie Morris makes a contribution in his January 8 Tribune column.

While it is hard to believe, the editors of Advance are continuing to grind out the Stalin lie, the pre-20th Congress official line that Trotsky "joined with some of the most reactionary elements in trying to destroy the Soviet Union." It is as if they were totally unaquainted with the devastating exposures, at the 20th and 22nd Congress' of the CPSU of the trials in the 30's staged to convict Lenin's closest co-workers, with Trotsky at their head, as allies of foreign imperialism. They even update Stalin's infamy by declaring that the Trotskyists today "are among the vanguard of the red baiters."

Now, of course, everything connected in anyway with Stalin is suspect. But what with the Canadian Communist officialdom holding onto the now hopelessly discreditted Stalin version of the Moscow Trials it is not surprising that they repeat the Stalin concocted version of the titanic dispute that raged through the CPSU and the world communist movecent from 1923 to Trotsky's expulsion from the USSR, and which Stalin attempted to culminate with his frameups and finally his murder of Trotsky in Mexico City in 1940.

As the platform upon which he stands becomes shakier under the hammer blows of the truth, Morris becomes more lyrical in the defence of Stalin against Trotsky — "it is to the eternal credit of Joseph Stalin as the party's general secretary that he brilliantly defended creative Marxism" against the Trotskyists, he writes.

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on Trotsky's "Menshevism" & the Permanent Revolution

The editors of Advance take their schematic attack on Trotsky holus bolus from Stalin's lie factory. They commence with the classic comment that Trotsky's "career started with his flirtation with Menshevism." Trotsky was not a supporter of the Menshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party but stood aside from both factions. Not understanding the significance of the conflict, a fault that he shared with other great revolutionaries, he attempted to reconcile the two tendencies which split in 1905, merged the same year, and stayed together until 1912.

Trotsky came to the Bolsheviks, as he once said, fighting — but he came all the way. Lenin had the occasion to say that there was no better Bolshevik than Trotsky, and, as if to specially admonish the editors of Advance, in his so-called Testament, portions of which Khrushchov read to the CPSU congress delegates, he wrote Trotsky's non-Bolshevism should not be used against him.

This line of attack is extended to suggest that Trotsky never really was in the party, that he was "accepted", in line with a policy of "a united front". But easily accessible records show that Trotsky not only held the highest and most responsible posts in the young workers' republic but that he was elected to the highest offices of the Bolshevik party on votes second only to that polled by Lenin himself.

What were the views of the man who Advances' editors write "claimed he was a socialist"—his "rather peculiar views", as they put it. Betraying their own abysmal ignorance of the basic concepts of Bolshevism they list as No. 1; "A world revolution was necessary to establish socialism."

The concept of world revolution is the center piece of all the ideas and actions of Bolshevism. None of the Bolsheviks conceived of their revolution as a Russian revolution but as an integral part and as the beginning of the world socialist revolution. They were internationalists to the core and not merely from the humanist concept of solidarity, but from their analysis of the world economy.

The term "permanent revolution", which our editors slip in, is a formula devised by Karl Marx to describe the task confronting the working class in relation to the progressive bourgeoisie of pre-1871 Germany who, having mobilized the masses to establish their power, sought to halt any further advance of the workers. Trotsky developed this concept following the 1905 revolution to predict and prepare the Russian masses for a revolution which could not stop at the bourgeois democratic stage after the destruction of Czarism but would be driven forward to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

History proved the correctness of this concept and Lenin played a cardinal role in rearming his party for this task immediately following the February revolution. All subsequent socialist revolutions have brilliantly confirmed this concept — the Yugoslav, the Chinese and the Cuban — they could not stop at the bourgeois democratic stage but were compelled to proceed forward to workers' power.

on Stimulating Revolutions & Socialism in One Country

Which takes us to the Advance editors' second point — the basis of Morris' attack on Trotsky. Yes, Trotsky rejected the concept of socialism in one country. In this he stood firmly on the traditional position of Bolshevism — for this concept was not heard of in the Russian party or the Communist International until Stalin inserted it in the second edition of his Problems of Leninism in 1924.

What was involved in this dispute? Morris would have us believe that Trotsky, who had held the most responsible posts in the Soviet government, and the Left Opposition which contained in its ranks the cream of the Bolshevik cadre, like a group of peevish school boys tottered between a policy of "either to 'wait' or to conduct a 'revolutionary war'" or as Advance says, they had a "defeatist line" and "opposed the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union."

There is nothing in any of the pre-Stalin resolutions of the CPSU, the YCL, not a sentence in the voluminous writings of Lenin that would sustain the concept that Russia as an isolated state could build socialism. On the contrary, the entire movement explicitly rejected any such concept. But this does not mean that they were defeatist!

For six years Lenin stood side by side with Trotsky as head of the proletarian power and never ever suggested giving up. In his Letter to the American Workers Lenin called the Russian workers' state a beleaguered fortress "until other detachements of the international socialist revolution come to our rescue," and which Trotsky and the Left Opposition proposed should be strengthened by going about the laying of the foundations of a socialist economy.

To any serious student of the problems of post war Russia Trotsky's name is synonymous with the concept of planning. When he posed long term planning sharply in 1923 it was Stalin who sneered that it wasn't a plan

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MORRIS AND YCL

(From Overleaf)

that the peasant needed but a good rain for his crops.

The dispute over Stalin's theory of socialism in one country involved something quite different from that which Morris and the Advance editors would have us think. It involved Soviet foreign policy and the role of the international communist parties. Trotsky said, from its adoption would follow a collaborationist policy on the part of the Soviet government towards the foreign bourgeoisie and the transformation of the parties in the Comintern from parties fighting for the conquest of power into border guards of the USSR. We will have more to say on the importance of this dispute for an understanding of the developing crisis in Communist Party relations today in our next issue.

As for the cry that Trotsky was for revolutionary war and an adventurer. In the tense debate over the signing of peace with the threatening German imperialists at Brest Litovsk, Lenin and Trotsky together opposed the advocates of revolutionary war. At the early stages of negotiations Trotsky refused to sign with the approval of the entire Soviet and the Central Executive Committee of the party. At the final stages, in the vote on the central committee, Lenin's policy to sign carried only by Trotsky abstaining. In the once famous Polish incident in the civil war it was Lenin, over Trotsky's disagreement, who thought it possible to link up the Polish revolution with the Red Army.

Why do Morris and the editors of Advance go to such trouble to revive all the old lies against Trotsky and the Trotskyists — all the more since they rehash the Stalin version which even the most gullible would now seriously question. It would appear to us that by so doing they hope to block a serious investigation, not only of the origins of the Stalin cult and the political use to which it was put, but a serious discussion of today's dispute in the world communist movement. Morris puts this struggle "on a par with the historic and fateful struggle between the majority of the CPSU and the Trotskyites."

The workers of the world have the responsibility to investigate this whole period in the history of the working class movement. As the Russian revolution was the crucible of the world revolution, so the struggles led by Trotsky and the Left opposition form the crucible from which will take shape the revolutionary leadership of tomorrow. It is not true as Khrushchov and his supporters would have us believe that no one dared speak up against Stalinism. The Bolshevik cadre formed by Lenin didn't lead a revolution against Czarism, the Kerenskiad, and repulse the armies of imperialist intervention to succumb without a struggle before Stalin. Marxism was not bankrupt in this whole period. It maintained the continuity of its thought, found the necessary reserves and its spokesman in the Left Opposition grouped around Trotsky.

Next issue we will deal with the Stalin cult—its origins and political role.

Meaning of Argue's Desertion to Liberals

Mid Feb '62

By The Editors

The capitalist Liberal Party, whose ranks he has now joined, the Tories and Social Credit, their yahoos in the daily press, over radio and TV are trying to make anti-NDP propaganda out of the renegacy of CCF-NDP parliamentary leader Hazen Argue. But one cannot help but sense an element of disgust even on their part—we fight to overcome a feeling of nausea—as they reproduce his fumbling, mumbling rationalizations for his defection and rapid acceptance into the Liberal Party which it is rumoured has promised him, should he be re-elected, the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture.

Canadian labor has had its share of traitors and renegades, its Ross Thatchers and its Pat Conroys, but it is doubtful if any ever dragged out such a miserable grab-bag of arguments to justify his action or anyone ever revealed himself so quickly and crudely as a vulgar opportunist.

CCF-NDP spokesman Douglas Fisher's scornful guffaw that shattered the silence of the house as Argue read his statement that "the integrity of the Canadian nation" required him to break from the NDP, was a highly fitting commentary. Could there have been anything more ludicrous than Argue's appeal to socialists—that they of all persons should quit the NDP because it is a class party, "a full-fledged labor party now," and choose among the ohter parties in the forthcoming general election?

What cynicism is contained in his formal statement of resignation that "class control of a national political party now acquired with the NDP constitutes a dark and sinister threat to democratic government in Canada." What could be more class controlled and a more sinister threat than the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit parties completely beholden to the scheming clique of 50 Big Shots who dominate and manipulate every aspect of Canadian economic, political and social life to the detriment of all the rest of society. It is only through the coming to power of a labor-farmer party than a meaningful democracy can be established.

That they clearly understand the NDP to be a class party, a labor party, and are undiverted by the reformist program which has been imposed upon it, and the opportunist character of its present leadership—is the reason why socialists support the NDP.

MP's Douglas Fisher and Frank Howard, one as the nominator and the other as an active campaigner for Argue as national leader at last summer's founding convention, have expressed public regret for having done so. The League for Socialist Action also openly identified itself with the Argue campaign. We have not the slightest cause to apologize or reconsider our action in the light of Argues' defection. At that time in reply to doubts as to the correctness of this position in view of Argue's past record in the house, we wrote "the fact remains whatever the claims as to his motivation, he is talking on the real issues confronting the convention" in opposition to Douglas' reformist position.

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On Hazen Argue's Renegacy

(Continued from Page One)

Argue identified himself with a program of public ownership, with the demand for Canadian withdrawal from NATO and opposition to membership in the OAS. We supported Argue as against Douglas on principled political grounds—positions from which we still stand and fight, and which Argue has now become an opponent of.

What and who really is responsible for the defection of a man who was a CCF MP all his political life and just last Fall was elected to the parliamentary leadership of the CCF-NDP. From Fisher's official reply in the house it is apparent that there have long been solid grounds to suspect Argue's loyalty. As long ago as last fall a Tory cabinet minister told Fisher that Argue was pulling out to the Liberals. Fisher said he wrote Argue about this and got no reply. During a rising flurry of rumours—three weeks ago Thatcher told a Liberal National Council that Argue would deliver himself over to the Liberals around Feb. 20—Fisher questioned Argue as to whether he was meeting Thatcher and accepted his blanket denial. The leadership moved in on way to block this development, to in any way prepare the party for it. While it has displayed great vigor in acting against the left, the leadership of the party is ill prepared and unwilling to act against the right. It is permeated with liberal reformist concepts and electoral opportunism. The reaction of Walter Pitman, NDP Peterborough, to Argue's defection is worth noting. "If the NDP has an election disaster, all of us," he said, "will have to do some serious rethinking."

The trade union leadership and the old CCF leadership imposed on the New Democratic Party what is essentially a make-capitalism-work a peaceful co-existence with capitalist program. Aside from their own misconceptions of the nature of the task before the party, they consciously aimed to make the NDP as indistinguishable as possible from the Liberals. The theory behind this strategy is that the Liberals are in decline and Canadian politics can be polarized around the NDP on the one hand and the Tories on the other.

The provincial by-election in Weyburn, which is part of Argue's federal seat, and the five Ontario by-elections saw a Liberal resurgence. With the Liberals having no fundamentally different program it was not hard for Argue to cross the line into the party that's getting the votes and promises him his seat and possibly a portfolio.

What conclusion will the NDP leadership draw? Will they continue their [illegible]ward course with its dangers of further defections to the Liberals and even the possibility of destruction of the movement? Regardless of their actions Argue's defection can serve a beneficial purpose, it is apparent that the capitalist parties intend to continue mounting an attack on the NDP as a class party, as a labor party. By so doing they will overcome in part the efforts of the leadership to present it as something otherwise, and the doubts of many worker militants, as to the value of getting into it.

Far from weakening, Argue's defection can only strengthen the resolve of the socialists to fight to win the NDP to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

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For Referendum on Nuclear Arms

The twenty-eight Bomarc Bs jutting skyward at the ready position in North Bay are now operational—they have been turned over to the RCAF. The second Bomarc base in La Macaza is well on the way to completion. Millions have been spent on these projects. But they are gigantic multi-million dollar squibs — — they are headless — — they have no armament — — neither nuclear nor conventional.

According to the parliamentary secretary of Defence Minister Harkness, no conventional warheads for the Bomarc exist and no warheads either conventional or nuclear are now on order.

(CCF-NDP) Erhart Regier's charge in the House last month that nuclear weapons are stockpiled now in Canada for use by Canadian forces brought Defence Minister Harkness to his feet with blustering denials and demands for withdrawal of the statement. But Regier's argument is unchallengeable—if one is to believe, as the government claims, that the Bomarcs are essential to Canadian defence.

Regier based his charge, he said, in the conviction that neither the Prime Minister nor Mr. Harkness would order such a weapon and not supply it with some type of warhead. If there were not nuclear weapons on Canadian soil today, he said, "this government would be proven to be completely irresponsible in that they had refused even to place an order for conventional weapons to supply our Bomarc missile sites."

Whether the government is responsible or not, whether it is telling the truth or cynically lying, if there are no nuclear warheads on Canadian soil right at this moment they are not far away. The decision to nuclear arm Canadian forces has been made. It was made long ago by the Diefenbaker government which is only waiting for the propitious moment to wheel the nuclear warheads into position. That is what makes External Affairs Minister Green's UN vote behind the Swedish resolution on a non-nuclear arms club last fall so hypocritical.

The next few months are crucial. The F-101B Voodoos will be operational in Air Defence Command, the Super Starfighter will shortly reach squadrons of No. 1 Canadian Air Division Europe. The Acting UN Secretary General is instructed, to not later than April 1st, report whether and under what conditions Canada and other non-nuclear powers would be willing to enter into undertakings not to produce, acquire or store nuclear weapons,

April 1, if some method of delay or evasion is not found may well be the day of decision, when the fraud, lies, and hypocrisy will be ended.

Between now and then the anti-nuclear arms forces must mobilize for an all-out struggle. A concerted effort around the demand for a popular referendum on the question of Canadian acquisition of nuclear arms could capture the imagination of the Canadian people. It is they who should decide the question. A mass campaign for a popular vote coming at a time when there is solid talk of a federal election could result, should the government go to the electorate, in making this election into a straight contest on the key question of our time, on the question of war or peace. The opportunity is here and should not be missed.

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FAILS ROYAL YORK STRIKERS

Mid Feb /62

By P. Kent

The strikers who have been pacing it out in front of Toronto's posh Royal York hotel for almost 300 days, rain, snow or shine, in recent weeks in zero and sub-zero weather, certainly deserve to win their battle against the CPR colussus. But if they do, it won't be from anything that the leaders of the largest labor council in the country have done for them.

On February 1st, the night of the Sportsmen's dinner, hiding behind the crippled 10-year-old boy Larry Maloney, who personifies "Timmy" in the Easter Seals campaign, Toronto business interests drove a second nail into the coffin of Local 299 of the Hotel and Club Employees Union.

February 1st could have signified something quite the opposite —it could have marked a reversal in the tide that is gradually moving in over the embattled ranks of Local 299. On that night the Toronto and District Labor Council (CLC) met. Several days previously the DeHavilland local of the UAW unanimously passed an emergency motion that the council should disband in order to appear in force on the Royal York picket line. A whole series of events took place the week previous to this second calculated blow to the strikers—the first was the Toronto Board of Trade's dinner in honour of retiring Metro Mayor Gardiner — that made it look like it would boomerang on its promoters.

Canada's top comedians Johnny Wayne and Frank Shuster made it known that they would honor the picket line. Wayne declared that he and Shuster "are heart and soul behind helping crippled kids. We've emceed the show for two years now. But you can't use crippled kids against a strike. I don't think its sportsmanlike to cross a picket line." Ralph Houk, manager of the New York Yankees, Gene Lipscombe, of the Pittsburgh Steelers of the National Football League, Wilma Ward, the great US runner, and former middleweight boxing champion Carmon Basilio declared their intention to absent themselves from the dinner.

Gordon Campbell, chairman of the dinner and a member of the Newspaper Guild and International Typographical Union was vigorously denounced by membership meetings of both unions. At its January 28th meeting, to cries for more stringent action, the Toronto typo membership denounced Campbell and decided to call on all members to join the picket on the night of the dinner. The Guild also decided to strengthen the line. Three days before the dinner the Roman Catholic priest who was to open prayers at the dinner, Rev. John Crowley, said that he would decline from doing so.

As the zero hour approached Tory Minister of Labor Warrender interceded to effect a settlement. When the local's officials read the offer, Mr. Warrender worked out with the CPR boses, to nearly 400 strikers it was met with outbursts of jeers, hootings and declarations that they would fight to a finish. Donald Montgomery, vice president of the Toronto Labor council, declared that if he hadn't seen the letterhead of the Ontario government on the offer "I would have thought his proposal an ultimatum from the CPR to the strikers."

If there was ever a time when the picket line could be firmly established and the whole tide reversed towards winning a favorable settlement it was the night of February 1st. Just a word from those who have the positions of leadership in the

(See Page 4—ROYAL YORK)

to Left Column

From right column

(From Page 1)

Toronto labor movement and there would have been a demonstration of solidarity behind the hotel workers the like of which this city hasn't seen for years. But no word came.

On the contrary. As the picket line was reinforced by the Guild and the Typos the leadership of Local 299 withdrew all of the hotel workers' pickets. Local president Joseph Chappelle, who killed the UAW-teamsters' sympathy picket of January 10, carefully supervised the some 150 supporters who turned up in the sub-zero weather along with several clergymen, to block any effective demonstration other than when Mayor Phillips and Connie Smythe broke through the line to a chorus of boos and angry words.

As for the labor council assembled less than a mile distant, when the Autoworkers' resolution finally hit the floor it did so only to be ruled down by President Jenovese with scarcely a protest. Jenovese declared it not an emergency resolution as the Sports Celebrity Dinner had been arranged for several months. Then this phrase mongering and craven leadership went through the motions of reiterating its support of the strike calling upon all affiliates to do the same. It condemned those who do and commended those who don't cross the picket line and toddled off home.

Things are quite different with a situation in Philadelphia that is quite similar. Last September some 12,000 production workers organized in the Machinists struck Yale Towne Manufacturing. After 19 quiet weeks an injunction limiting picketing was granted and the company started to run scabs through the line with police escorts. On January 8th the big Westinghouse Local 107 of the independent UE called for support from the entire labor movement and two days later the city's AFL-CIO Central Council urged that the picket line be "solid" at Yale Towne in spite of the injunction.

The next morning, for ignoring the injunction, 30 Yale Towne strikers were arrested. That afternoon about 100 union leaders demonstrated at the mayor's office demanding that he tell the company to stop recruiting scabs. When the labor council issued a call for mass picketing by all unions for January 15th the mayor appointed a committee to make recommendations for a settlement, the company agreed to stop hiring additional strikebreakers and the council's executive called off the mass picket. On the 15th an official delegation from the Teamsters Local 107 nonetheless appeared at the picket line with seven cars and seven sound trucks. Some of the trucks got stalled at the plant entrances as the scabs hired before the truce were entering.

In Toronto, the Musicians local, which has refused to provide orchestras for the struck hotel, stands firm while Casey Dodds of the Teamsters and Fred Dowling of Packinghouse investigate the Musician's charges that their members are crossing picket lines to deliver to the hotel.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR F. RICKETTS

At the Stanley Park, NDP clubrooms in Vancouver a Memorial Service was held on January 19 for the late Frank Ricketts, long time socialist worker in B.C.

Rodney Young, well known Vancouver lawyer, who had worked with Frank for many years in the Stanley CCF Club, recalled in glowing terms the many services Frank had rendered since his younger days.

Malcolm Bruce, veteran socialist, also spoke with deep respect of Franks' early life and his quarter century of service to the CCF. The evening ended as our late comrade would have wished, with Fred McNeil, well known trade unionist, leading the group in the singing of workers' songs.

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Morris Toes K's Line on Albania Doubletalks on the Cult of Stalin

By Ross Dowson

In the first of his two articles in the Jan. 8 and 15 Canadian Tribune on the downgrading of Stalin which has launched such a broad discussion in the Italian Communist movement, newly-elected national CP leader Leslie Morris reprimands the Chinese CP for seeking to conceal the disagreement between the Soviet CP and the Albanian party. "There are no lessons in concealment—only in frank, courageous treatment of errors . . . to have concealed a disagreement of this order would have been to betray the critical spirit of Marxism-Leninism," he writes—hastily adding that "the science of Marxism will be victorious today just as it was over the Trotskyism of the 1920's . . ."

But if you think that Morris in his column, or the CP istelf, in this dispute is being guided by a critical spirit you are sadly mistaken. At its 17th national convention last month the Canadian CP lined itself up solidly behind Khrushchov against Molotov and his alleged "anti-party group," Albania, and China.

This decision was taken without so much as a document from the Molotov group or the Albanian leadership being circulated. Khrushchov in the old Stalinist style, not at all in the Lenin tradition when all views were discussed, deprived the Albanians and the Molotov group of any opportunity to present their views.

Nor does Morris serve these good words any better in his Jan. 15 column devoted entirely to the Stalin cult. Surely this column must be written for those who depend entirely on the pages of the Canadian Tribune for information—for the Tribune has failed to give its readers any concept at all, even factually, not to speak of editorially, of the extent and the monstrousness of the crimes which Khrushchov attributes to the Stalin cult.

One would have no idea that the central committee and the delegates to the 1934-17th Congress of the CPSU were in their overwhelming majority shot as counter-revolutionairies — that of the 22 members of the party central committee who led the revolution only 5, including Stalin, died natural deaths; the others were shot as wreckers and enemies of the state they had brought into existence.

Morris' concept of the cult and its consequences is an extremely modest one. Thus he attributes it, certainly not to a parasitic bureaucracy grown up on the planned economy and crushing its opposition, and not even to an individual, to Stalin's paranoia as Khrushchov does, but to the Soviet peoples themselves.

It was, he writes, one of the "remnants of the past in people's minds," with the symbols of the cult being "no doubt part of the past expressions of a certain naivete." As it was caused, according to Morris, by the naivete and the cultural past of the Soviet peoples he attributes its "passing away," "as part of the growing democracy of the masses and the rise in their cultural level."

Morris' explanation explains nothing about the cult, neither its origins nor the political use to which it was put. Least of all does it explain the transference of the cult from Soviet soil to Canada and the CP's all over the world, which the sophisticated Morris himself indulged in in high style. Nor does it explain the grafting onto the Stalin cult the cult of Tim Buck. This cult also had its victims—the thousands who passed through the Canadian CP frustrated by its political gyrations and their incapacity to overcome its subservience to the CPSU.

The Feb. 6, 1950 issue of the Tribune, celebrating 20 years of Buck's leadership of the party, is jammed with sickening eulogies by all the major figures in the party. Morris has a double spread with these jems about Buck—"He is in truth' the conscience and strength of all that is progressive in the labor movement . . . He is the most prolific and the deepest comentator and writer on both current affairs and the larger political movements and trends . . ." ad nauseam.

It is no accident that the Canadian CP leadership like Khrushchov have failed to delve back past the Kirov assassination of 1934 but leap the period from 1934 back to 1928, to the destruction of the Left Opposition headed up by Trotsky. And it is no accident, despite the incredible monstrousness of his crimes, that Morris raphsodizes that Trotsky's defeat is to Stalin's "eternal credit."

Last issue we dealt with the "guide" to Trotskyism that was revived and presented in its traditional Stalinist form in the January issue of the Young Communist League's Advance. The myth that Trotskyism is some ideological tendency distinct from Leninism as promoted by this article is another aspect of and an integral part of the Stalin cult, which was the logical outgrowth of the cult of Lenin and of the Bolshevik party, developed following the death of Lenin.

With the adoption of the NEP economic life was restored to the young workers state but new problems arose. While the period of war Communism was largely eliminated from the economy it prevailed in the party. The party was being loaded with appointed officials and a bureaucratic cast was growing on the party. Stalin was the leading element in these threatening circles. In 1923 Trotsky wrote a series of essays on the condition of the economy and the party. These, along with a letter signed by 46 leading party members who joined with him, were known as The New Course.

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DOUBLE-TALKS ON STALIN CULT

(From Overleaf)

The opposition demanded the restoring of workers' democracy seriously curtailed during the exigencies of the civil war, and the elimination of bureaucratic deformations which were beginning to cripple the party, and coupled this program with the perspective of speeding up the industrialization of economically backward Russia.

The triumvirs, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin, who took over the leadership of the party, initiated at the 12th congress an exalted glorification of Lenin and the party as an ideological weapon against Trotsky. It reached such proportions that Lenin's widow Krupskaya was moved to protest its stultifying effect at the 14th congress. With this mechanism every difference that anyone at anytime had with Lenin became a heresy and any disagreement with the party a sin. Episodic, temporary, superficial disagreements with Lenin were distorted and magnified out of all proportion. History was rewritten in order to bolster up the reputations of the triumvirs and defame their opponents.

As the myth of Trotskyism as distinct from Leninism was manufactured so the myth of Stalin always at Lenin's side was created. The Leninist cadre that gravitated to Trotsky was not defeated in the field of ideas but drowned out in a hysteria of abuse and overcome by the weariness and decline of the fighting capacity of the Soviet masses due to the cultural backwardness of their inheritance and the isolation of their revolution.

The new ruling group, the rising bureaucracy, saw in Stalin, naked of the program but wrapped in the cloak of Lenin, the perfect arbiter in its inner differences. With his manipulation of and authority in the world communist parties, his theory of socialism in one country, they saw him as an effective instrument of their foreign policies. In place of congresses Stalin issued decrees, in place of debates orders. All opposition was crushed, rendered superfluous in the eyes of sycophants by the all-seeing, all-knowing, infallible leader. Through the massive frameups and murders of the Moscow Trials Stalin rid himself of all potential opposition. Those of this generation who survived either went into silence, which often proved no protection from the wrath of the bureaucracy, or became instruments of the bureaucracy.

The Khrushchov group are desperately holding onto the Stalin version of the Trotsky dispute and, frightened to turn back the pages of history, are muzzling the Molotov anti-party group for fear of what the truth would reveal of their role. Morris and company also have a vested interest that the unwinding spool of history, which has caused so much trouble as it is, should unwind no further.

If Molotov were allowed to talk everything that Khrushchov has said about the anti-party group as Stalin's accomplices would prove to be just as true about Khrushchov. In a slugging match of charges and counter charges would be revealed not just bureaucratic insensitivities, excesses and crimes, but the existence of a broad parasitic caste. For it was precisely in the period of Stalin's mass terror and the period of the most extravagent cultism that Khrushchov climbed higher and higher in his career.

Trotsky's struggle at the head of the Left Opposition is the most glorious page in the history of Bolshevism. In this struggle is a tremendous vindication of Bolshevism, that it found the necessary reserves to analyze the new phenomena that rose on the first workers state, develop a program for the reconstitution of Soviet democracy, and organize the resources to fight for it. The Soviet masses are once again on the march pressing down on the bureaucracy headed by Khrushchov who is manoeuvring between concessions and repressions to save the entire rule of the bureaucracy. They are certain to claim this tradition as their own — nothing can stop them.

Ironically Morris' cultist article of 1950, his eulogy of Buck, is at the same time a celebration of Buck's victory for leadership of the Canadian Communist party over Jack MacDonald, previous secretary of the party, who, by 1929 the article points out, "had made common cause with the Trotskyists under Maurice Spector," up until his expulsion the leading theoretician of the party.

AMONG the protest pickets in front of the US Consulate were CP leader Tim Buck, extreme right, and Ross Dowson, of the League for Socialist Action, center with sign.

Mid Feb 62

Protesting U.S. gov't. actions against CP (USA)

WE THE PEOPLE MUST VOTE, DECIDE, ON WHETHER CANADA NUCLEAR ARMS:

The Workers Vanguard

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Urges Rabbi Feinberg B.C. Union Takes Poll

"I propose that a referendum be conducted in Canada on the question of nuclear arms"—Rabbi Feinberg. In his keynote address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards on February 26, Rabbi Feinberg said "Perhaps a count ought to be explored, not only to guide the government and candidates for office, but as a valuable exercise in the technique of evaluating mass psychology. Therefore I propose that a referendum be conducted in Canada on the question of nuclear arms. A secret ballot would reveal profound and widespead revulsion from any policy involving Canada in the madness of nuclear arms competition that daily heightens the risk of nuclear suicide."

"Here in Powell River (BC) members voted 75% in favor of keeping nuclear arms out of Canada," writes W. Matticks, executive member of the Western Canadian Council of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union (CLC) in the February issue of the **Western Pulp and Paper Worker.** Initiated by the Ocean Falls local, with the concurrence of the Prince Rupert local, a referendum is being conducted throughout the union by the council.

(See Page 3—SUPPORT FOR)

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NDP OPPOSES U.S. TESTING

The New Democratic Party federal executive has condemned U.S. President Kennedy's announcement of resumption of tests as "a bitter blow." Referring to last year's Soviet testing, which it strongly condemned, the NDP leadership said that it "may explain the American decision but it makes it no less regrettable." The statement condemned Kennedy's demand for an iron clad test ban agreement as ensuring "that the new disarmament conference will open under a shadow."

NO NUCLEAR ARMS DECLARES LABOR

The Canadian Labor Congress has urged the Diefenbaker government to renounce nuclear arms. Representing almost 1 1/5 million unionists it added its voice to that of the 110,000 strong French Canadian Confederation of National Trade Unions whose annual brief to the government also urged the government to dissociate itself from the manufacture and use and stock piling of nuclear weapons—"these infernal machines."

The CLC brief expressed "the fear that with Canadian armed forces already in possession of weapon carriers with nuclear capability the time is not far off when atomic warheads will be in the hands of Canadian armed forces and on Canadian territory."

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EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 90c a year (12 issues)

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Support for Referendum Growing

(Continued from Page One)

Last year to the applause of some 2,000 Vancouver supporters of the BC Committee on Radiation Hazards, assembled in the Queen Elizabeth Auditorium, featured speaker John B. Witchell urged that **"Canadians must be allowed to vote on whether they want nuclear arms in Canada."**

If a massive campaign is not mounted in the immediate future, if the anti-nuclear arms forces are not rallied in the next few months to take the decision out of the hands of the government and place it in the hands of the people, Canada is certain to become nuclear armed. The Diefenbaker government has a clear and unmistakable policy—it has made a whole chain of decisions, in fact every one but the last, the final one, that would end its campaign of lies and deceptions by actually clamping atomic warheads into the positions that are waiting for them on the Honest John Artillery rocket, the Bomarc and the CF-104—all absolutely functionless without nuclear warheads—and upon which in the case of the CF-104 alone, the government has decided to spend over 400 million dollars.

Surely any illusions that anyone had due to Defence Minister Green's support of the Swedish resolution for a non-nuclear arms club have been shattered by Mr. Diefenbaker's reply to the acting secretary of the UN. While boasting of the advanced technology that Canada possesses in this field, and of its decision not to manufacture nuclear weapons, Diefenbaker replied that "preparatory steps have been taken to procure modern delivery systems and to train Canadian forces in their use," and added that his government reserves the right to nuclear arm itself as it might consider necessary.

Liberals Press for Decision

If the Liberals have been a factor in Diefenbaker's failure to make the final decision, they are now no longer so—but have become a goad. The Liberals, who when in office made all the initial moves to integrate Canada in the U.S. State Department's nuclear strategy, up until last Fall, made a pretence of opposition to subsequent Tory commitments to nuclear armament. Last November Pearson modified their former opposition to nuclear warheads on the Bomarcs to the effect that Canada should consider adopting nuclear warheads under exclusive U.S. control if the U.S. government thought it necessary. And now they are baiting and provoking the Tories, ridiculing them for not having completed the process. On March 20, in reversal of his party's previous position that Canada's role in NATO should be to strengthen conventional forces, Pearson baited the government for not making a firm, a public declaration to arm the CF-104 squadrons going to NATO command with nuclear weapons.

At a subsequent meeting in Belleville he ridiculed the Tories for clamping sand-filled warheads into position in the Honest John artillery rocket that has been manufactured for nuclear warheads, and assured his audience that a Liberal government could work out an arrangement that would provide nuclear warheads "which would not make Canada itself a nuclear power" — — — but a pawn subject to the decision of another power, the atomic madmen of the Pentagon.

With considerable justification Defence Minister Harkness has charged the Liberals with advocating conscription of graduates of the civilian survival courses that his government devised to keep the cold war fires burning, hide the scope of unemployment and at the same time add recruits to Canada's military forces. Liberal defence critic Hellyer baited the government for not making these men subject to a call up in case of a national emergency.

Unite Behind Referendum!

With the Liberals attempting to present the Tories as conciliators of the Soviet bloc, nothing stands in the way of the Tories finally settling the matter but a handful of CCF-NDP MP's and the people themselves. The CCF-NDP members were committed by the delegates at the party's founding convention to oppose nuclear arms on Canadian soil and to a policy of Canadian withdrawal from NATO should it become nuclear armed.

Two of them, H. W. Herridge and Arnold Peters, cast their vote against the 47 million dollar appropriation for the purchase of an unspecified number of Starfighters and auxiliary equipment.

Canada is now being pushed up to the edge of commitment as a full fledged nuclear power—up to the point of no return. There is only one force that can halt this mad course. The anti-nuclear arms movement must be unified around a common demand—one which will enable it to mobilize the Canadian people themselves.

The demand that there should be a national referendum so that the people can decide on this most crucial question of our time has been approved by prominent persons in the national anti-war movement with an important union actually conducting an opinion sampling referendum of its own. It is necessary to take action now to unite the anti-bomb forces in a massive petition drive to force the government to hold a referendum—to open up a discussion throughout the country over every channel of communication that will culminate with a national vote and the people themselves determining Canada's course.

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CASTRO HITS OUT AGAINST FACTIONALISTS, SECTARIANS

Mid Mar '62

By PAUL KANE

On March 27, preceded by two other speeches reported in the daily press in which he denounced unnamed persons for abusing authority and creating chaos in the organisms of the Cuban state, Premier Fidel Castro flayed "old Communist militants" and denounced one, Anibal Escalante.

He stated before a number of ranking revolutionary leaders in a radio-TV address that "we have come to explain the separation of this companion whom we consider culpable.". Escalante, who was executive secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and founder and first editor of its press, **Hoy**, had only recently assumed the post of secretary general of ORI, formed by the fusion of the three major revolutionary groupings in Cuba.

Castro denounced Escalante as having "abused the confidence entrusted in him when he was given his job and (having) tried to create an apparatus to pursue personal ends" bringing "real chaos to all the country."

Castro's previous denunciations of the attempts to split the various revolutionary tendencies under the banner of "anti-communism", as counter-revolutionary, and his declaration that he is now a Marxist-Leninist have been seized by the capitalist press to depict him and his closest associates from the July 26 movement as Stalinists, or as having come under the thumb of Khrushchov and some of the old Stalinists in the Communist Party. This latest attack by Castro, completely in the democratic tradition of socialism, which has been the main tendency of the Castro leadership all along, has caught the apologists for imperialism flat footed.

Almost two weeks earlier, before a crowd of University of Havana students commemorating the abortive student attack on Batista's palace 5 years ago, Castro angrily assailed a reading of the political will of Echevarria, one of the heroes of the attack, which deleted a reference to his belief that the "purity of our intentions carries the favor of God." Castro denounced those responsible for the censorship as shortsighted, sectarian, stupid and guilty of moral wretchedness. "Could that be called socialism?" he challenged. "Could it be called Communism? No! No!"

Develop a more intense Marxist spirit, a more Communist spirit, he appealed to the youth, "Cuba does not want a young generation that listens and repeats but a youth that thinks and is not revolutionary by imitation."

But it was his March 17 speech that was the most far reaching and laid the basis for the denunciation of "the old Communist militants" and Escalante. "The political apparatus is the backbone of the revolution," he said. "It is there that we have to

FIDEL CASTRO

take the most care, where we have to have the greatest vigilance so there will be no scoundrels, no persons taking advantage—this is the most important task of the revolution."

Naming no names, he pointed his finger at "people who have created chaos in the organisms of the state with their mania for puting and taking and their abuse of authority." The revolution, he said "needs to revise all the revolutionary nuclei and all the political apparatus of the revolution to do away with errors and abuses and to gain good performance."

Many Canadian friends of the Cuban revolution have been profoundly disturbed by the suppression of the Havana Trotskyist newspaper **Voz Proletaria** and the destruction of the type prepared for a Spanish edition of Trotsky's **Permanent Revolution**, ordered by a functionary of the National Printing Office; by the disruptive and anti-democratic factionalism called anti-Trotskyism of Cuban CP general secretary Blas Roca in his report to the 8th national congress of that party and circulated in this country ;and by incidents surrounding the visits of Canadians such as former CCF Vancouver-Centre candidate Alan Judd who was held incommunicado for 39 days in Cuban jails and expelled from the country without known cause and Toronto Fair Play for Cuba supporter John Darling who was picked up and jailed during the CIA invasion but held long after the danger had passed without so much as a hearing or an apology upon his release.

Quite correctly they did not let these developments divert them from firmly supporting the revolution. They understood that they flowed from the penetration of CP elements, who want to see the revolution settle down, into the apparatus of the revolution, and the lack of broad popular organs of proletarian democracy. They understood that the revolution, which by-passed the CP, created an entirely new leadership around Fidel Castro, a leadership which stands at the threshold of a resurgence of the world revolution not in the backwash that led to Stalinism, a leadership which has proven on innumerable occasions its inherent honesty, its political resourcefulness and its capacity to develop. Besides they understood that the CP itself is not hermetically sealed but has been penetrated by new elements witness to the destruction of the Stalin cult and under the influence of the ideological struggle between Peking and Moscow.

A new stage in the Cuban revolution is marked by Castro's attack on "old communists," his scoring of bureaucratic abuses, sectarianism and factionalism, his specific criticisms of the revolutionary defence committee for "having committed injustices," his appeal for an increase in "public vigilance against errors and injustices," and his declaration that anyone who commits injustices "is an enemy of the revolution." His forthright statements on socialist democracy come at a time of the actual organization of the Integrated Revolutionary Organization (ORI) and are probably a reflection of an intense dispute on its character. Through the opening up of this party to all working class revolutionary tendencies and the guaranteeing of a democratic internal life lies the best assurance of the full socialist, democratic development of the Cuban revolution.

vanguard

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Sask. Govt. Sets Health Plan Date Medical & Boss Cabal Sabotage

By ROSS DOWSON

Early this month Saskatchewan's Health Minister W. G. Davies announced that North America's first socialized medical plan will go into operation on July 1, 1962. But it is by no means clear that, despite this two years' delay since the NDP-CCF received a decisive mandate to proceed, the plan will go into effect even then. That is unless the government moves in to decisively curtail the authority of the medical hierarchy organized in the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons, buttressed in its heartless sabotage and arrogant defiance of the law by the Canadian Medical Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the profit-gorged insurance corporations, and prominent mouthpieces of the Big Business political machines.

The officials of the Saskatchewan College have persisted in their refusal to negotiate with the government, to co-operate in any way to allow it to carry out its mandate. They have instructed their members to defy the law. To this day the officers of the college have refused to meet with the government-appointed Saskatchewan Medical Care Insurance Commission, despite government assurances that it is prepared to discuss all aspects of the act; "to consider specific changes if it can be demonstrated that they are required to protect the medical professions' legitimate interests." Responsible for this 15½ million dollar government project, the commission has now sent personal letters to the province's 900 doctors suggesting that they meet with it individually or in groups.

As one would expect since it won a decisive mandate for the plan in an election in which all the forces of capital ganged-up to make it the key issue, the CCF-NDP government has the support of all the major provincial civic, social, and welfare bodies. Last November the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, through its president F. W. McClelland, urged the government not to allow the medical hierarchy to place itself outside the law. While not fully in agreement with certain aspects of the act which the government has modified in the hope of appeasing the opposition, the federation declared its support of the act "in the interest of getting a medical insurance program started." The Saskatchewan Farmers Union, the Saskatchewan Branch of the Canadian Public Health Association, the Saskatchewan Urban Municipalities Association, etc., have all declared their support.

The membership of Regina Locals 539 and 454 Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union (CLC) in a letter to Premier W. S. Lloyd stated that they "felt that the government had gone as far as it possibly could go in seeking the cooperation of the College" and suggested that if the college spokesmen refuse the invitation and simply continue their attacks "the government should feel absolutely free to ignore the college as such and proceed to get the plan underway without delay." The locals' letter to chairman of the college, Dr. H. D. Dalgliesh, asks him to remind his colleagues that it was the citizens of Saskatchewan who built the university where doctors train and the hospitals where doctors earn their rather substantial living.

While the Saskatchewan hierarchy is defying the law its powerful allies have moved in to bolster it by mounting a national campaign against the removal of the dollar signs around health. One of their main sounding boards are the hearings being conducted by the federal government-appointed Royal Commission on Health Services. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce, voicing alarm over the popular support for, (what it calls the vote-catching potential of) socialized medicine, made its pitch that such plans damage the freedom of Canadians and based its case on the myth that most Canadians are capable of paying for the benefits of existing medical services. Those not able, it suggested, can go on federal charity.

Two of the groups that have appeared before the committee to vigorously oppose a tax supported national health plan nonetheless put in their bid for massive subsidies from the national treasury. Echoing the CMA, the 5,800 member Canadian Association of Medical Students and Interns at the same time asked for a 5 million dollar fund to help undergraduates by providing interest free loans. The Canadian Arthritis and Rheumatism Society, simultaneous with its opposition to a national health plan, urged acceptance of a plan to aid sufferers of rheumatic diseases that would cost the government 2⅛ million dollars by 1970.

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Fight Sask. Health Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

On March 2, the same day as the board of directors of the Ontario Medical Association sent a statement of support to the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons congratulating them for their thwarting the will of the people, the Sault Ste Marie Medical Society informed the United Steelworkers that it would not staff the unions' health center there. It stated that its decision "is in full agreement with the policy of the Ontario and Canadian Medical Association" — an indication that the union may have difficulty staffing the center to be built this year.

On March 12 the Canadian Medical Association announced that it had joined forces with a multi-million dollar Canadian Health Insurance Association representing 117 companies and presided over by the president of the London Life Insurance Company. Despite its name this concentration of corporations that gamble and feed on sickness and disease is not concerned with insuring Canadians' health. It hopes to block a national health insurance plan by putting insurance rates on a more rational basis and urging that the 10 to 15% who they estimate cannot possibly buy insurance be aided by the state, following a rigorous means test.

The officials of the Saskatchewan College, aside from the aid and comfort that has come from the CMA, the Chamber of Commerce and the insurance corporations have been bolstered up in their defiance of the law by BC government officials and no less a person than the federal minister of health and welfare, the Honorable Waldo Monteith himself. BC Social Credit Health Minister Martin, who considers a national health plan a red plot, brazenly accused the Saskatchewan government of setting back a national plan several years by its attempts to institute a plan over the opposition of the medical hierarchy. Health Minister Monteith cynically told the Ontario Optometrical Association that the Saskatchewan government had moved "too quickly" and in "too arbitrary a way."

All the stalling, the postponments, the procrastinations, of the Saskatchewan government, all its modifications of the act and its offers to modify it further, in an attempt to mollify, to win the compliance and good will of the hierarchy have proved in vain. Instead of weakening the hold of this handful of venal men over the profession, instead of undermining their authority, this policy has only served to strengthen it.

The government has the power and it has the support of the people, to move in against the hierarchy in such a way as to prevent them from any further acts of sabotage, and to strengthen and bring to the fore the hundreds of doctors who oppose the hierarchy or who have little sympathy for their acts of sabotage. It could lift the charter of the Saskatchewan College and lay the basis for a complete reorganization of the medical profession in the province and the country. It could take the hospitals under provincial ownership thus breaking the autocratic hold of the hierarchy over the profession, and without malice reorganize them in the interest of strengthening the forces who favor the provincial plan. It could launch a crash program to bring new layers of working class and farm youth into the medical profession, youth who have not been corrupted by capitalism and who will conduct themselves in harmony with the noble appeal and idealistic aims that the medical profession claims as its own.

RAISE SIGHTS IN FUND DRIVE

If you have enjoyed the **Vanguard**, found it valuable to clinch points of argument on the job or an evening discussion at home, found it useful for leads in your trade union and New Democratic Party work you will no doubt feel as we do that its continued publication should not depend on the chance condition of your pocket book, the spare time that some one of us can put aside to call around and pick up a donation. But it does. The **Vanguard** depends on you, its readers to see it off the press through the year.

We have launched our annual spring drive this year on March 15 to come to a close two months later on May 15. But this year we have set ourselves the highest objective yet—$2,500.

We have raised our sights because in the past year we assumed the obligation of attempting to meet new opportunities to increase our influence by putting out 6 pages editions on 4 or 5 occasions. This coming year, with the federal election before us, the Latin American revolution advancing increasingly to the fore, the stimulating developments in Cuba, the trade union movement entering into more difficult times, we intend not only to put out special inserts more often but to lay the ground work for even more extensive expansion of our press.

The drive has got well underway. Vancouver, which set itself an objective of $750, had $125 of it here in the office on opening day. Toronto has turned over $103.40 and has an additional $1,409 pledged by friends of the **Vanguard**. Twenty dollars has come in from Montreal.

So far so good. The rest is going to come tougher but the response to date tells us that the money is there in your pocket or your next pay envelope. Send in your contribution just as soon as possible to **The Workers Vanguard, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.** The bigger the better, but no sum is too small. We think that you owe it to us and to yourself for the **Vanguard** is the promise of our future.

JOIN IN THE STRUGGLE TO ELECT AN NDP GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 18

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 7 (No. 2) (74) Mid-April, 1962 — 23 — Toronto—Price 5 cents

Halt Nuclear Arms Drive For Jobs For Everyone

(By THE EDITORS)

As the federal election campaign moved into high gear U.S. President Kennedy gave the go-ahead for the bursting of a hydrogen bomb which scientists predict will break the earth's magnetic arc and perforate the upper atmosphere showering the peoples across the globe with death dealing fallout. This awesome blast which will throw an arc of light visible some 4,000 miles, casts into sharp relief NDP federal leader T. C. Douglas' challenge that the great issue of the election is atomic arms.

A tremendous burst of applause swept through the 1,500 persons gathered in the Trianon Ballroom to unanimously nominate Douglas for the Regina seat as he declared that no nuclear weapons would be permitted on Canadian soil by an NDP government. Nor would Canadian troops here or abroad be armed with nuclear equipment, he promised in the name of the party.

The Tory and Liberal spokesmen of "that small clique" which Douglas charges "owns and controls the wealth of the nation," with the aid of the big dailies, TV, and radio, are trying to bury this life and death question in a torrent of other "issues." While squandering 1.5 billion dollars each year that they have been in office, on defence which is no defence, against an enemy which doesn't threaten our security, the Tory Diefenbaker government has stopped short of making the final decision to nuclear equip Canadian forces. The Bomarc missiles pointing skyward at North Bay and La Macaza and the planes and equipment that Canadian forces are training with only wait the word for the clamping of atomic warheads into position.

Should the Diefenbaker government be re-elected to office it is certain that Canada will be nuclear armed. As parliament

(See p. 3—ELECT AN NDP)

New Democratic Party leader T. C. Douglas as he made his acceptance speech to last year's founding convention in Ottawa. Delegates representing all the major unions, the CCF and New Party clubs launched Canada's labor party with high anticipation of winning this election.

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Elect an NDP Government

(Continued from Page One)

closed, the government issued its fifth pamphlet on survival clearly outlining what has become of Diefenbaker's "vision" of four years ago. It's a private enterprise shelter program, every man for himself, "duck or run" acceptance of an H-bomb war.

Now at last, the Liberals, after a flood of fourteen glossy phamphlets containing some 75 promises, have released their long awaited statement on nuclear arms. The two short paragraphs in a 21 page pamphlet commit the Liberals, who when in office launched Canada onto the cold war course and initiated its current nuclear strategy, to a policy of nuclear arms. Not at this time, not "in present circumstances," not "on the basis of present information" — — reserving "the right to examine each new development," of course.

There is only one choice for those who would link Canada up to the world-wide forces for peace and human progress — — reject the parties of capital and campaign behind Canada's labor party, the NDP. And there is only one way to win jobs for all. Defeat the parties of the "corporation elite", which as Douglas points out hold Canada "in economic dictatorship", and elect a workers and farmers government into office.

The statistics are too clear and the cost too obvious in the health and welfare of thousands of Canadians for the Diefenbaker government to further hide the truth that following a series of boomlets of prosperity the waves of unemployment have grown higher and higher. Today, even with thousands of youth and women leaving it as jobs have got scarcer, 8.7% of the work force is unemployed. Government authorities declare that 200,000 new jobs a year are needed for the next five years to even approach the guaranteeing of everyone the right to a job. During the last five years the rate of growth has only averaged 64,800 a year—less than a third of what they admit is necessary.

The rising unemployment is not the fault of the Tories, as the Liberals would make out, but of the capitalist system, to which both are committed, as it grinds to a halt. As is traditional with both parties they are scurrying to impose the cost of maintaining this bankrupt order onto the backs of labor and the working farmer.

While they grant tax incentives to business to increase production of goods already in falling demand, and concessions and relief of all kinds to the wealthy corporations, they deliver stern lectures to the workers about the need to hold the wage front and increase production, while imposing Draconian regulations on their unions so that they will have no defence against rising costs, automation cutbacks, and speed-up.

This was the character of the pre-election budget brought down by the Diefenbaker government. And that is what was behind the Liberals raising both hands in support of the Tory Ontario government's imposition of compulsory arbitration on the Hydro employees organized in NUPSE, and their modest cautioning of the Tory Manitoba government as it moved to declare unions legal entities.

It is only through a planned economy that unemployment can be eliminated. It is only through the unity of labor and the working farmer caught in the monopolist's cost-price squeeze, and their taking the political power into their own hands, that the necessary first moves can be made to establish a peaceful and prosperous Canada.

Whatever the shortcomings of the NDP, it is only through its strengthening on the forward march to a labor government that they can be overcome. Its weakness and deficiencies, which important forces now in the party are struggling to rectify, will only be rectified in the process of new experiences and the winning of new forces to the party and its shaping into a truly democratic arena for the discussion and implementation of policies determined in the interests of the working class.

Join and help to build the NDP now! Rally to the campaign to elect an NDP government to Ottawa on June 18th!

mid-Apr '62

On Swiss Nuclear Arms Vote

While all of the country's dailies were mum about the struggle for, then the preparations, and finally the actual holding of a nationwide referendum on nuclear arms in Switzerland, now that the vote is over and the anti-nuclear arms forces defeated they have broken their silence. Canadians are particularly interested in such a development for such a prominent figure as Rabbi Feinberg, chairman of the Toronto Committee for Survival and vice-chairman of the Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards has recently gone on record favoring such a vote here. John B. Witchell has urged a national referendum before the B.C. Committee on Radiation Hazards, the West Coast Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union is conducting a referendum through its membership, and of course the Vanguard has been campaigning along this line for some time now.

The proposal to write into the Swiss federal constitution a total ban on atomic weapons for the Swiss army was defeated by a two to one vote—537,387 to 286,858. It was put to the voters following a campaign which won the signatures of over 80,000 citizens demanding a national referendum on the question in the face of the opposition of all the major political parties in the country.

While the government opposed the referendum its position that the question of equipping the Swiss army with nuclear arms was purely academic at this time since it had no intention of doing so, had some effect on the vote. But a more important factor prohibiting an accurate expression of the anti-nuclear war sentiment was that half the population, that women in Switzerland, are denied suffrage in national affairs.

Obviously those opposed to nuclear arms, although at this time they failed to win the support of a majority of those with the franchise, still hold to their opinion and continue to promote it. In the process of this action they made nuclear arms the most widely debated issue in the country.

The situation for an anti-nuclear arms vote through a national referendum in Canada is much more favorable—women have the vote. Besides no one, in the face of all the Diefenbaker government's preparations to nuclear arm Canada, could have any illusion that the question is in any way an academic one.

#7

Pamphlet Outlines Interrelations of;

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE NDP

By ROSS DOWSON

The publication of this pamphlet is certainly timely. With the federal election there is an intense interest in what the New Democratic Party is. The opponents of the NDP are attempting to create a public image for it—from the capitalist-reformist Liberals, who at times cuddle up to it and present it as a futile if well meaning movement, to the Social Crediters who damn it as the thin edge of an international totalitarian conspiracy. Those who won the day and assumed the leadership of the NDP following the intense policy debates at the founding convention, through many leaflets issued in the name of the party, through speeches by federal leader Douglas and candidates, are also giving a specific image to the party.

While the purpose of this pamphlet is to explain what the League for Socialist Action is, of necessity it defines what the NDP is. It characterizes the NDP as a labor-farmer party, a party of the working people which projects the possibility of taking the power out of the hands of the capitalist class and eliminating once and for all the recurring depressions spawned by capitalism, of eliminating its wars, and ushering in a new world of peace and plenty. To achieve this aim the LSA is of the opinion that the party must be won to a class struggle program and a socialist objective.

While the NDP presents a more or less united face to its capitalist opponents it is composed of widely differing currents, tendencies, and alliances. The political spectrum within the NDP is a wide one. It ranges from Liberals who are disillusioned with the official machine, trade union bureaucrats who see political action as a substitute for on-the-job action, to trade union militants, utopians of various types, to socialists.

At the founding convention the alignments were sharp around such crucial issues as the rights of the delegates versus the authority of the official committees, the question of public ownership, support of NATO, etc. And this didn't exhaust the situation. Even within the forces of the old gang who frittered away the CCF, and the top trade union brass, there were cleavages over who should get this or that post. As if from out of nowhere slates appeared for the various offices up for election. For some the struggle over posts and the rewards of office was more important than the program of the party and actually determined their position in the votes on policy.

Everyone knows that these alignments, blocs, caucuses existed at the founding convention. To claim that they no longer exist would not only be fraudulent but would be to characterize the NDP as a sterile, and not a living body. Every provincial convention since then has been the scene of maneuvrings—the less political, the less principled in character, the more intense and bitter.

The fact that these forces do not declare themselves publicly is obviously not in any way proof of their non-existence. On the contrary it only testifies that they are constituted on such a basis that fears to face honest public scrutiny. To hide their existence, to create an atmosphere of semi-illegality, does not moderate or eliminate differences in the party, it only intensifies them, distorts their character and renders their resolution in the interests of the working class more difficult.

One of the chief merits of the League for Socialist Action is that it cuts through all this hypocrisy and deception by declaring its existence openly, and publicly announcing its aims and objectives. This pamphlet outlines the tasks before the party as seen by this socialist caucus.

Strange to say this open and above-board policy has only infuriated the right wing of the party. Can it be because it

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Bertrand Russell Defies Gaitskell's Threat to Purge Labor Left-Wing

". . . an impertinence and a gross insult to the millions who support the Labor Party," Bertrand Russell labelled the British Labor Party executive's demand that he, Lord Chorley, and Canon John Collins, consult it over their sponsorship of a world disarmament conference in Moscow this summer. This executive action is a part of a witch-hunt of unprecedented scope against all those who oppose the H Bomb in the party. Leading officers have been instructed to investigate CND influence in local Labor Parties and the extent "the campaign has been infiltrated by Communists and Trotskyites." Two young socialist papers "Keep Left" and "Young Guard", which have consistently opposed the bomb are to be immediately proscribed. Seven members of the National Committee of the Young Socialists (a majority) are to be asked to give reasons to the executive as to why they should not be expelled from the party.

"I suggest," said the eminent philosopher and mathematician, "that Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Brown appear before me and explain for the benefit of the entire country their support of the atmospheric nuclear tests and their support of the Polaris in blatant defiance of the conference decisions of the party they are misleading."

The Gaitskell leadership's drive to make the Labor Party safe for the H Bomb is certain to meet tremendous resistance. On May 14 more than 750 steel and building trade workers in Cheshire downed tools in a one-day token strike in opposition to the Tory H Bomb and the resumption of the tests. At a meeting after the demonstration the chief steward declared "this could be the beginning of mass industrial action against the bomb."

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exposes the unprincipled character of their secret alliances? Perhaps with the left taking on a more sustained character through the League and the Vanguard they see less possibility of demoralizing it, of scattering it or absorbing it, as has happened in the past, and the certainty of its increasing influence.

Early this year the B.C. provincial executive laid charges of disloyalty against a group of leading left-wing NDPers for "joining with members of another organization in furthering the policies of Vanguard," which policies they characterized of course "as being inimicable to those of the NDP." Later the whole matter was dropped.

In Ontario the provincial executive, without any hearings, has formally rejected the membership application of half a dozen persons and is sitting on the membership of scores of others—the bulk of them former CCF card holders. The grounds for this action are that they are alleged to be members of the LSA, which, in passing, they designate an opponent political party. By so doing they hope to entrench their authority and to prevent leftists from co-ordinating their efforts.

They are frustrating the democratic process. They are denying the fundamental character of the movement as a Canadian peoples' party. They are creating an atmosphere where openly declared caucuses are outlaw; for what caucus could exist without risking the danger of being declared an opponent political party.

Perhaps by making things difficult for the socialists, by forcing them underground and compelling them to take on some of the appearances of a conspiracy, the top brass hope to panic them into leaving the NDP and its rank and file to their tender mercies, into setting up an independent and opponent political party. That is just what Editor Bill Pikot of the New Democratic Youth paper Viewpoint would have the left do, from his attack on the League and Vanguard, taking up almost 1/3rd of the April issue. He charges the LSA, which he estimates numbers 500, with, for some strange reason, seeking to "destroy" the NDP "from within by disruption rather than trying to fight it from without by an open and honest fight."

Naturally enough Mr. Pikot does not deal with the program of the LSA, with any of its aims and objectives as outlined in this pamphlet, with anything that has appeared in the Vanguard. He deals almost entirely with what he considers to be the motives of the LSA, its hidden purposes that are known to him through telepathy, divine revelation, or some other mysterious and secret way.

And of course Mr. Pikot, like his right wing mentors, attempts to present the program of the NDP as adopted at its founding convention as something immutable, fixed, static; and the viewpoint of the present leadership an integral part of, as being natural, inherent to the party. In so far as he says anything about the LSA's ideas it is summed up in the phrase that the LSA "disagrees with the principles of the party, that the LSA is attempting to use our party for principles which the NDP opposes and abhors."

A major portion of the article is devoted to an effort to separate forces, to which its author would give a certain legitimacy as the left, an acceptable left, from the Trotskyists, who it seems are "guilty" of promoting the concept that the left should stick together. This is one of three theories that Pikot charges the LSA has "invented"

Pikot attempts to split the left and to lay the grounds for the exclusion of the LSA from the NDP with a series of fabrications and lies that are worthy of a scandal sheet, not the official organ of the NDP youth. The best answer to this shameful material in this pamphlet. It commits the LSA to a policy of unconditional support of the NDP. It outlines the nature of the problem confronting Canada's labor-farmer party and projects what it thinks the program of the party should be. Every NDPer should read it and judge for himself as to where he should stand.

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THE VANGUARD BOOKSTORE
81 QUEEN STREET W.
TORONTO

1961

WHAT THE *League For Socialist Action*

IS, AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

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What the League for Socialist Action is, and What it stands for.

The League for Socialist Action is a fusion of the Socialist Educational League, centered in Toronto, and the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver, and their supporters scattered across Canada.

The League for Socialist Action is committed to unconditional support of the New Democratic Party in its aim to place workers' and farmers' governments in Ottawa and the provinces

Its purpose is (1) to bring together, to organize into an effective force, all supporters of the NDP who seek to win it to a class struggle program and a socialist objective; (2) to build the party, to participate in its day to day activities and to advance ideas that will give conscious direction to the working people of Canada in their struggles to defend and extend their interests.

The first requirement for the workers in all countries of the world is to break cleanly from the capitalist class and their political parties, and any and all concepts of coalitions with their parties. The workers and farmers must build a party of their own based on their primary class organizations, the trade unions, with the aim of taking the power out of the hands of the capitalist class and into their own hands.

The NDP that has been launched by the CCF and the CLC meets this requirement. It opens up the possibility of galvanizing the entire working people of Canada, in alliance with the struggles of the workers in other parts of the globe, to eliminate once and for all the recurring depressions spawned by capitalism and to eliminate its wars which now threaten mankind with atomic destruction, and to usher in a new world of peace and plenty.

Those associated together in the League for Socialist Action seek to join forces with all those who now understand this challenge in order to win the majority of the working class to this realization. Our support for the NDP is unconditional. Our participation is not contingent upon certain specific programmatic planks being adopted by the party, and we lay down no terms as to who must be in the leadership of the party. We recognize the authority of the majority in democratic debate to decide the policy of the party and to elect the leadership it sees fit to pledge to implement that policy.

For a Class Struggle Program

At the same time we affirm the right of the minority to freely advance its ideas in the organizations that are part of and allied to the new party, and to seek to win the majority to the support of its views and establish a leadership in the party consonant with its views.

While we declare our unconditional support for the new party we declare our conviction, based on experiences both in Canada and in other parts of the world, and on our analysis of objective reality, that the program being advanced by the leadership of the CLC and the NDP is inadequate. Were it to continue to remain the program of the party it would render it incapable of meeting the needs of those whose support it seeks.

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Their program is reformist when the task is revolutionary — that is, socialist. While capitalism is moving out to slash the many gains already won, imposing new burdensome taxes, straight-jacketing organized labor with union-busting laws, cutting down on social legislation, and throwing hundreds of thousands into unemployment; they talk in terms of the affluent society and the amelioration of class conflicts. They project a perspective of merely removing what they present as minor defects in the existing capitalist order of things, of patching capitalism up and making it more tolerable, instead of a perspective of fundamental change. While the movement is clearly working class, the present leadership preaches conciliation, peaceful co-existence with capitalism, not class struggle against it.

For a New, a Socialist Society

This is the most revolutionary period in human history. One third of the world's population lives under a planned economy — which is the foundation for their colossal progress and achievements of the past decade. With increasing strength the peoples of East Germany, Poland, Hungary and in the Soviet Union itself, are striving against the bureaucratic regime to establish working class democracy. Whole continents are being torn by revolutionary struggle from the domination and exploitation of the imperialists. Cuba, just 90 miles off the American coast, with its example and inspiration, is stirring all Latin America.

Within a generation we have suffered two world wars of unprecedented slaughter and destruction and have been afflicted with the waste and demoralization of cataclysmic economic crises. With the loss of their imperialist holdings and the entry of new forces onto the world market the capitalists attempt to keep their industrial plants operating and profits pouring in by initiating a vast program

of military expenditures. To no avail — a major crisis is shaping up in the capitalist world. In desperation they are attempting to shore up the system by turning against the workers at home. Capitalism promises the people of Canada not amelioration of conditions but austerity, oppression, dictatorship and/or atomic destruction of mankind. Only through an irreconcilable struggle against capitalism, towards its elimination and the establishment of socialism, will the Canadian people and the people of the world find the full freedom, equality and democracy for which they aspire.

A Party for Peace, Not War

The threat to the peace of the world, the main force behind the drive towards atomic destruction is not the Soviet Union — nor is it China. It is American imperialism and the old but now much enfeebled imperialists, and their hangers-on such as Canada, which seek to roll back the struggles of the colonial peoples and re-establish their domination of those areas from which they have been driven.

It was the U.S. that flew the U2 planes, that conducts provocative nuclear armed airflights over Canadian territory right up to the borders of the Soviet Union, that thousands of miles from American shores has built more than 300 military bases that are encircling and directed at the Soviet areas. It was the U.S. which stalled on the cessation of atomic tests and procrastinates in the disarmament sessions, while, along with its satellites, increasing military expenditures and perfecting ever-more fiendish instruments of death and destruction.

To be a factor for peace Canada must be broken from the commitments made by the Liberals and the Tories

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to the imperialist war drive and must be identified with the freedom struggles everywhere. The forces of the NDP must mobilize the Canadian people in the struggle against war, must raise the demand: that the question of nuclear arms in Canada be taken out of the hands of the government and decided by the people in a national referendum.

Houses, Schools—Not Bombs

The NDP should firmly commit itself to struggle now, and when elected break Canada from participation in the NATO military alliance, withdraw Canada from NORAD, remove all Canadian forces from the soil of any other country and demand the withdrawal of other country's armed forces from Canadian soil. For the reallocation of all military appropriations to the financing of vast programs of low cost, low rental subsidized housing, schools, hospitals and roads. No shipment of Canadian uranium to any country manufacturing and testing H Bombs.

No support of the U.N. which has proved to be an instrument of imperialist strategy, but rather towards an alliance, a free association of the people of the world by the identification of Canada with the world-wide anti-imperialist and socialist strivings through a program of trade and aid. For recognition of China, for extended credits to Cuba and all countries seeking trade and aid. Only when the working people of Canada and the major countries in the world have the power in their own hands can we realize the cherished commonwealth of labor.

The NDP must mobilize the people of Canada behind a program which will block and reverse all the efforts of the Canadian capitalist class and their political

lackeys, the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties, to impose the crisis of their system on the backs of the working people.

Jobs for All—30 for 40

Technological progress is now reaping vast profits for the industrial and financial oligarchy and condemning thousands to permanent unemployment. The NDP must solidarize itself with organized labor's fight to win the benefits of technological change for the workers by establishing the shorter work-week with the same take-home-pay in all union contracts, and by fighting to enact a shorter legal work-week. The establishment of a sliding scale of hours would insure that all have the right to work.

Alleviate the hardship of unemployment with; unemployment insurance for the duration of unemployment at union rates of pay; for union organization of the unemployed, linking up the unemployed with the fighting capacity of organized labor.

Mobilize popular opposition to roll back the anti-labor offensive, wipe all union-busting legislation off the books, encourage, promote, strengthen all organizations of the working people, the co-ops, the credit unions, trade unions — for a Bill of Rights.

Public ownership, nationalization of the basic industries and the financial institutions, the establishment of industrial democracy, participation of the people in the productive processes and the planning of the economy for the service of the people, is not some abstract principle or the expression of an ultimate objective. The crucial dependence of Canadian economy on the world market and

its uneven development has transformed public ownership and production for use from a programmatic statement on the nature of the socialist society that lies ahead and a desirable aim, into an immediate necessity.

Public Ownership—Planning

To the Nova Scotia CCF-NDP demand that the coal industry there be nationalized, should be added; the nationalization of the government-financed Malton AVRO plant, its re-tooling and the production of goods needed by the people for sale at cost. The nationalization of the government-financed uranium industry and a crash program to develop uranium for peaceful energy purposes. The nationalization of the CPR and its unification with the CNR, their re-financing and their co-ordination to provide a nation-wide network functioning in the interests of those working it and providing transportation at cost.

Open the books of big business so that the truth about prices, wages, cost of production, distribution and profits, executive salaries, kickbacks and payola, so that the waste and inefficiency, so that the source of the crisis of the economy is laid bare. Take over the idle factories, the electrical goods plants, the textile mills, that are turning once prosperous communities into ghost towns; produce for use under the control of the workers through a national plan.

The League for Socialist Action identifies itself fully with all such demands as; a non-contributory national health plan, free university tuition, the 18-year-old vote, parity prices for farmers, cheap loans and low cost credit

to owner-operated businesses and working farmers. The League for Socialist Action identifies itself with all the social conquests of the working people and with all proposals that would deepen and extend them. It solidarizes itself with all actions which heighten the consciousness of the Canadian working class of the real situation confronting them; it supports any action which further cements their unity against capitalism and which would strengthen their capacity to struggle and project them towards the achievement of a workers' and farmers' government.

A Fighting Alternative

The NDP opens up tremendous possibilities before the Canadian people. But to realize these possibilities it must present itself as a real alternative to the capitalist parties It must be rooted in the working class — in the primary organization of the working class, the trade unions. The working class is the only class in modern capitalist society in profound and persistent conflict with the tiny handful of financial and industrial tycoons who control the economy and state apparatus. The unions are the only mass organized social movement in conflict on a day-to-day basis with capitalism at the key point of their power — their control of the productive machinery of the nation.

The NDP must be an integral part of the lives of the workers, inextricably tied to their day-to-day struggles and not a mere election machine, persistently

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seeking funds but limiting the political activity of the workers to electioneering, going to the ballot box periodically then handing the job over to specialists, to MP's and MLA's. Labor political action is not a substitute for on-the-job action but a broad generalization and heightening of the day-to-day struggle, on the job, on the picket line, organizing, propagandizing, agitating, on all levels of the population and in all fields, cultural, social and on the municipal, provincial and federal areas of government, co-ordinating, giving leadership and direction to the Canadian working people.

Rank and File Democracy

The new party must develop its leaders and spokesmen from its own ranks. While welcoming intellectuals and professional people it will put into positions of trust and responsibility only those who identify themselves completely with the workers' cause. Such persons, by their loyalty, their commitment to the aims of the party ranks, by their militancy and example, will help to overcome the deep underlying cynicism that has dissaffected large layers of the population from political life and will inspire them to join in the struggle.

The movement must be democratic—open to all who commit themselves to its support. It must have an internal life which not only permits, but consciously encourages the full play and exchange of ideas. Only then is there any assurance that the party will adopt the correct policies — only then can it develop and choose the type of leadership that the struggle for a socialist Canada in a socialist world requires.

Socialists greet the formation and join in the building of the NDP with deep satisfaction and enthusiasm. We are confident that the experiences ahead will prove the validity of our ideas which have been forged in the struggles of the past and will be re-tempered in the struggles ahead.

The attempts of the CCF-CLC leadership, expressed in the loose formulations adopted at the Winnipeg CLC convention, to launch some kind of liberal-labor coalition, were dashed to pieces by the onrush of events, by the developing economic crises and the Tory-Liberal-S.C. anti-labor drives. Regardless of any desires to the contrary the NDP enters the arena as a class party, a labor party.

Despite the campaign of lies and distortions about the socialist viewpoint we are confident that developing realities, together with the conscious participation of all who consider themselves socialists, around such a program as we have outlined, will make the NDP a powerful leap forward on the march to a socialist Canada.

June, 1961

Ross Dowson—Toronto.
Ruth Bullock—Vancouver.
Malcolm Bruce—Vancouver.

If you are interested in learning more about the ideas and activities of the League for Socialist Action visit the LSA headquarters in Vancouver at 875 Hastings Street East; in Toronto at 81 Queen Street West; or write for information to either address. Read and subscribe to the Workers Vanguard—$1.00 for 12 issues—81 Queen Street West, Toronto.

Who Will Rule Canada--Labor or Capital?

June/62

By P. KENT

Who shall rule Canada? What NDP leader Douglas has called the "power elite," the capitalists and their Tory-Liberal-SC cabal? Shall Canada continue to be an economic dictatorship in which "we have less and less to say about our economic life?" Or will the people—the working farmer, the logger, fisherman, the housewife and the industrial worker rule?

That question confronts the country day in and day out. It is posed before us in the coming federal election. The choice is Liberal-Tory-Social Credit or New Democratic Party. Shall the power elite continue to dictate, to further entrench their rule; or will this election see an NDP government in power so that we can begin to change the situation—to move forward in the direction of a socialist Canada. That is the issue in the election—capital vs. labor. Make no mistake about it!

Following the election—if the Diefenbaker government is returned, within one year, predicts Toronto Eglinton Tory candidate Fred Stinson, Canadian forces will be nuclear armed. "Before making a final decision on nuclear armament," said Liberal leader Pearson to a Prince George audience, he would have to be in government office.

As the election campaign got under way the Tories gave a booster charge to the cost of living already at an all time high, when they devalued the dollar to put the monopolists in a better trade position on the international market. NDP leader Douglas warns that this act amounts to

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#75 June 1962 - Editorials

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The Fundamental Question

(Continued from Page 1)

"a virtual tariff of seven and one half percent on every import—even on goods that normally come in free", not to speak of its multiplying impact. The Liberals have met the challenge as to whether they would have done differently with stony silence.

The gravity of the struggle, the nature of the forces that labor is up against, a suggestion as to what lengths it is prepared to go to sustain its privileges ,not to speak of its power, has been revealed in the furor over the Saskatchewan medical plan. The tiny Saskatchewan medical hierarchy goaded on by the Liberals headed by Ross Thatcher and with the approval of the Tory government's minister of health have announced their intention to withold their services and to even withdraw from the province.

There shouldn't under these immediate circumstances surrounding the election be any illusions at all as to who the enemy is. It's the Liberals and Tories, the political stooges of capital. It's capitalism. But there are illusions! And they are right up in the circles of the top electoral strategists of the NDP.

From the speeches of the majority of the candidates in these closing days of the campaign you would think that the Communist Party is the enemy.

In order to prove that they are more anti-communist than anyone else the Ontario provincial council of the NDP has announced, through some of its leading candidates in the Toronto area, that it is applying for permission to take legal action against the Communist Party. Why? Because the CP, though it is contesting 13 of the seats where the NDP has best chance of winning, though in the past it has supported Social Credit, the Liberal Party and has buttered up to Tory Defence Minister Green, has issued statements that elsewhere in this election it is supporting the NDP.

Of course the NDP leadership knows that there is no way of preventing anyone or any organization from supporting it. They hope by this device to clear themselves of the charge of "communism." A vain hope that displays an appaling ignorance of the most elementary facts of political life. The witch hunters are not interested in facts. Their smear is designed to launch a hysteria to get their opponents on the run, and obscure the real issues. The Ontario NDP leadership has reacted as to order.

So far the net result has been to raise the "communist" charge against the NDP to even a higher level and further obscure the issue confronting the Canadian people.

In North Bay the hysteria has resulted in an arrogant violation of the elementary democratic right of some Vanguard supporters to attend a public NDP meeting, and a declaration by the candidate that the aim of the NDP is "to eliminate communism in Canada and the world."

The NDP can't win a race to see who is the best anti-communist. The field is crowded. It has no perspective except as a labor party—as an anti-capitalist party. That is what it is. And it had better get back on the rails or it won't go anywhere.

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Working The Old Con Game

Four years ago John Diefenbaker stormed the country on the need for a change; the need to rid ourselves of the old corrupt Liberal regime. When he spoke of a great vision, of opening up the Canadian northland, and when he went on to tell how the Conservatives would end unemployment, many people, including even CCFers, took a chance and voted Tory. He conned thousands into "voting for a winner," into not "wasting their votes."

Four years later we hear the same old cry. This time it's from Liberal Leader Pearson. He's picked up all the old Tory gimmicks and put them into play again. This time the siren call is to vote Liberal. As if this would be a change that means anything! Their unity with the Conservatives on all the major issues over the last four years demonstrates that a Liberal administration will bring no more of a change than the people got after the last election. For every union-busting Frost in the Conservative party there's a Smallwood in the Liberals.

Despite this, Pearson demagogically goes on to tell NDP supporters to come over to the Liberals. He tries to tempt them by promising that the Liberals will enact much of the legislation the NDP will be unable to put into effect because, as he would have it, it won't be forming the government. How does he know how well the NDP will fare? There is no more reason to believe his predictions now than when in 1958 he erroneously predicted the Tories wouldn't get elected. The election results and not the wishful prophesies of Mr. Pearson will show what the NDP can do.

The NDP is out to get elected, to form the labor and farmer government needed in Canada. It aims to roll up the biggest vote possible. If not put in power now, then it must be put in the strongest possible position to assail the boss parties in the future.

A low NDP vote will be the greatest encouragement for the big business parties to begin moving in against the workers' living standards, working conditions, and legal rights. Laws to weaken the unions, to bring nuclear weapons into Canada, and so on, will be passed without hesitation whenever it suits the Liberals' and Tories' purpose. A big NDP opposition will be more than a "balance of power" opposition that will try to play some role between two basically identical capitalist parties. Such an opposition is relatively useless! The history of the CCF shows that on any matters of importance the Liberals and Tories will line up and form a coalition against any workers' and farmers' party. What the Canadian working people need is their own party in power. A big NDP opposition will be a step towards forming the needed socialist government.

The need for a change in government exists all right. But to vote Liberal is to block change and maintain a capitalist rule. It's lining up with the bosses to prevent a labor government coming to power. And that's scabbing at the ballot box! Isn't this wasting your vote, wasting it in a most shameful way? If either Liberals or Tories are the winner, you're the loser!

The early American socialist Eugene V. Deb put it right when he said "It is better to vote for something you want and not get it, than to vote for something you don't want and get it."

The Workers
Vanguard

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Boss Parties Foisting Austerity on Workers

BY ROSS DOWSON

With its austerity program the Tory Diefenbaker government is doing what every capitalist government does when a crisis builds up in their system. They are placing it on the backs of the working people. Of course Diefenbaker calls in unctuous tones for "a great national demonstration of determination" and "cooperation between business and labor," but he is wielding a one-edged sword cutting at the small businessman and the hard won living standards of the workers .

During the election, when as the government they assumed the responsibility for devaluating the dollar, Tory spokesmen ridiculed all talk that devaluation would result in higher prices. "I brand this type of propaganda as false" declared Diefebaker. But conservative estimates have it that Canadians will pay 750 million dollars more for the 5½ billion dollars worth of goods imported last year, and that devaluation will add 140 dollars a year to the average Canadian family's cost of living.

Both Liberal and Social Credit party spokesmen underwrote devaluation of the Canadian dollar though Pearson, as he said he was not opposed to it, suggested that perhaps he would have done it in another way.

Upon re-election to office, and having said A now required to say B. Diefenbaker and his ministers wiped the smiles of confidence from their faces and swept aside all their pre-election platitudes about the economy moving

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PLOT TO PUT BOOTS TO LABOR

Continued from Page 1

"into a new high plateau" of prosperity. They now call for belt tightening .

With the professed aim of cutting down the unfavorable balance of trade with the U.S. the government has imposed additional taxes (surcharges) ranging from 5 to 15% on half the imports coming into the country. The fact that this shoves the Canadian dollar down to about 75 cents compared to the U.S. dollar has caused one leading Canadian businessman to suggest that the name of the dollar be changed to prevent Canadian labor from comparing its wages and living standards with its American brothers'.

In an attempt to entice foreign capital, which in the past has largely made up the unfavorable trade balance, the government has set the Bank of Canada lending rate at 6%. By so doing it has shoved up interest rates on mortgages, charge accounts, etc., which will ricochet into thousands of fields hoisting further prices of almost everything, including municipal taxes. With the intention of cutting the budgetary deficit by 450 million dollars the government has announced plans to eliminate many necessary public works projects costing some $200 million which will result in new additions to the already lengthy ranks of the unemployed.

Seeking factional advantage Liberal leader Pearson refused to approve of the austerity program when Diefenbaker had Bank of Canada Governor Rasminsky submit all the inside information to him prior to its announcement. Since then Pearson has been demanding the immediate convening of parliament but it is apparent from his expression of "hope that the emergency steps will be effective" that he has no alternative program.

Quebec Social Credit leader Real Caouette jumped into the fray to oppose the "tight money" policies introduced as part of the austerity program and to declare his readiness for an immediate election. But national leader Thompson has brought Caouette, who has swung a radical protest force into the ultra rightist ranks of the Social Credit movement, back into line. "We do not want an election this year," he said. While not favoring the government's austerity program he remarked that he did not expect that it would come up for a vote in its naked form in the house.

None of the free enterprise parties has any alternative to the policies of the Diefenbaker government. Through speed-up, increased production, lower costs, through a wage freeze and price hoists that will siphon off purchasing power, they hope that Canadian capitalism will be able to meet the rupture of traditional trade patterns looming ahead with the break-up of Commonwealth preferential agreements on the shoals of the European Common Market.

Sad to say the leadership of the New Democratic Party and the organized labor movement also present no alternative. Asked for his opinion of Diefenbaker's austerity drive Douglas said "no one doubts the need for far reaching measures at this time", and added the cryptic comment that "a first glance at them convinces me they are too little too late."

After charging the government with treating a common cold while a cancer has been spreading through the political economy, Steel Union research director Harry Waisglass ended up crying for "spontaneous co-operation of all economic groups—labor, farmers and bankers" .

But there is an alternative. It calls for a complete reorientation of the unions and the NDP into fighting instruments for the defence of the working people. The NDP should mount a powerful campaign against the Diefenbaker austerity program. As a climax to this campaign it should attempt at the coming session of the house to force a vote of non-confidence in the government.

It should consider advancing as key demands in its campaign, not austerity for the workers, but increased taxation of the rich. To meet the crisis in the economy it should call for a national plan based on the public ownership of the key sectors of industry—basic steel, auto, meat packing, mining —and production for use not profit. It should urge a realignment of Canada's trade towards the underdeveloped countries, towards Cuba, China, the Soviet areas. To Diefenbaker's proposal to meet the budgetary deficit by cutting down on necessary public works, the NDP members should counterpose a motion to completely wipe out of the budget the $1,675 million dollars that are being wasted in so-called defence expenditures.

If the trade unions are to serve in anyway the function for which they were forged, not talk about co-operation with the bosses but resistance to their austerity program is needed. Top priority will have to be given to a revival of the sliding scale of wages clause in all contracts. In this way base rates will be protected with automatic increases to meet every rise in the cost of living .

Such a policy will clearly counterpose the NDP as the only alternative to the three parties of capital and lay the basis for its future victory.

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION
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A STUDY CLASS
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Workers' Vengoard #76 July 1962
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An Analysis of the Elections

How Can the NDP Go Forward Now?

July '62 BY THE EDITORS

How should NDP members and supporters interpret the recent election results — what do they mean and what actions do they require of us?

In a release to the press Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald claims "we have reached the point of a major break-through", that with a little more money and work "every percentage point increase in the vote represents more seats." He backs up these claims with figures. The federal poll for the NDP he presents as a 50% increase, the Ontario poll he presents as reflecting "an even bigger increase" —70% more than 1958. The federal vote was just over a million— 1958 it was 671,736. The Ontario poll was 258,723 and now stands at 448,157. The only trouble is that these figures bear as much relation to the contents that MacDonald would have us buy as the outside measurement of the boxes of breakfast foods and soap chips on super market shelves bear to their contents. The members and supporters of the NDP would buy this Donald MacDonald package at the peril of the future progress and victory of the NDP.

The true picture which we must try to grasp in order to move forward to the establishment of a workers and farmers government in this country can only be acquired from analizing a totally different set of figures. They show that the NDP poll represents only a very modest addition to the support for the idea of a socialist Canada built up through the years by the CCF. This is revealed by the poll in 1957—one year before Diefenbaker called the snap election that steamrollered him into office, cutting even into the longstanding base of the CCF. That year, a more accurate one to estimate the support that it had managed to build up, the CCF polled 11% of the vote. This year, the NDP polled 13.9% of the vote.

If political lines had remained static, if there had been no notable shifts in political alignments, a 2.9% increase could be considered a modest achievement, a down payment on the high hopes and expectations of the thousands of delegates who launched the party only last August. But 1957 recorded that hundreds of thousands of Canadians had dumped their former political allegiances. They voted Tory to topple the 22 year old Liberal regime. A year later they proved to be still on the march when they gave Diefenbaker the largest number of seats in Canadian history. This year's vote revealed a continued turbulence — the electorate again struck out against the government. The protest landed up behind the Liberals and only to a modest extent behind the NDP and the Social Credit movement in Quebec. Why?

LIB-TORY GANG-UP DEFEATED DOUGLAS

The 29% of the poll cast for NDP leader Douglas would have and did elect scores of candidates running elsewhere to the commons. But it wasn't sufficient in Regina, for the all-out drive to keep Douglas out of the house increased the total poll by almost 9% over the 1957 vote and the drive of both Liberal and Social Credit machines to line their supporters up behind the Tory candidate more than doubled his vote.

While the Saskatchewan NDP vote dropped precipitously to place it third in 17 ridings, there was an even more drastic shift of Social Credit voters behind the Tories along with a considerable Liberal vote. Renegade NDP house leader Hazen Argue squeaked in as the sole Liberal spokesman in Saskatchewan with 2,000 votes less than he polled as a CCFer and only 2,000 more than the NDP candidate. The NDP vote held firmest in the urban areas of the province.

From a strategical point of view the NDP comes out of this election in a less favorable position than before. Whereas the CCF was the third party — the opposition to the Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business— with the rise of Social Credit in the East, the NDP has become the fourth party. On the eve of the 1957 election the CCF leadership with some justification could present the Tories as a declining force and the CCF as the only alternative to the Liberal incumbents. Since the 1958 landslide behind the Tories, the NDP leadership has presented the Liberals as a declining force and the NDP as the only viable alternative to the Tories. Now the Tories are in office, the Liberals have had a resurgence, SC has taken on a national physiognomy and the NDP is NOT the only vehicle of protest against two capitalist parties which are NOT moving towards coalition, but a fourth party.

The NDP has no seats in either Saskatchewan or Alberta and none in the key province of Quebec. The two Winnipeg seats that have returned to the fold were won with a smaller vote than the CCF rolled up in 1957.

There are only two areas where the NDP met any of the promises that the right wing CCF leadership and the trade union brass assured us would come with the dumping of the "old socialism" and all concepts of labor, of class politics, and the adoption of the name New Democrats and all such trappings. BC is one area. The NDP won 10 seats and incresaed its vote from 23% in 1957 to 31% in 1962. But we must add that the CCF has been the largest single party in that province for decades, deprived of office for some years by a coalition of the boss parties. The other area is Ontario where the CCF got 12.5% of the poll in 1957 and the NDP got 17.4% this election. And even here it is necessary to pause.

Take the three Northern Ontario seats that the party held onto! In two of them the vote dropped from what the CCF polled in 1957. In the industrial area of Windsor the gain was very modest indeed. Although the poll was higher in Oshawa, home of the mighty GM UAW local, the NDP vote fell to 26% — in 1957 the CCF won 32% of the vote. Industrial Hamilton saw only a slight rise from 22% in 1957 to 24% behind the NDP this election.

The area of biggest gain was Metropolitan Toronto where the CCF polled 16.5% of the vote in 1957 and the NDP polled 24% to win three seats — two of them new to the CCF-NDP federal fold. Even here the bulk of the gain was racked up in several of the newer expanding suburban areas .In the heart of the city, where the most exploited sections of the working class reside, the increase was very small. In two of them the vote dropped — in Davenport — from 30% in 1957 to 24%—in Trinity, 23% in 1957, to 18%.

With a prominent leader of the Steelworkers union as candidate

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THE WORK... ARD
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WHICH WAY FOR NDP?

(Continued from Page 1)

and a well heeled and powerful machine, Davenport was thought to be a sure NDP win.

From these few comments it is apparent that this election registers a severe setback for the NDP, for the principle of independent labor political action and the struggle for a workers and farmers government. And that we have a problem that is not to be sloughed aside with the old familiar comments about the lack of funds and a developed electoral machine, actually less real than ever before. The problem is one of policy.

It is apparent that the NDP did not appear as a dynamic, as a viable alternative to the two major capitalist parties. Social Credit—a declared "free enterprise" party—made more trenchant criticism, presented itself as a more dynamic alternative to the old line parties than the NDP—than a labor party which regardless of the fears of its leadership for the word socialism poses nonetheless, great, even fundamental change in the interests of the working people.

The results of this election should come as no surprise to the readers of Workers Vanguard. Last January in our analysis of the five Ontario provincial by-elections, the first important test of the policy and leadership adopted at the founding convention, we warned the party that the strategy being followed by the leadership would not work.

Not Demarked from Liberal Party

We challenged the leadership with attempting to compete for votes on the same grounds as the Liberals—to all effects and purposes making the NDP indistinguishable from the Liberals, with failing present the NDP as a serious alternative to the Big Business Liberal and Tory Parties. We denounced the idea that the labor vote is pretty well in the bag, the concept that "what is necessary is to not only cleanse the party of any hint of socialism but to modify and soft pedal even those planks where the NDP is anyway different from the Liberals—to make the NDF appear as like the Liberal party as possible and in this way ease the shift of dissident Liberals over to the NDP."

We declared that such a policy would not work. We called for a shake-up and the organization of the left on a national scale to prevent what we saw developing on the provincial plane flowing onto the federal plane — a resurgence of the Liberals to which this election is witness.

Programmatically, in its leaflets and its official statements the NDP had almost nothing to say to the electorate. Even in T. C. Douglas's major speeches, which came closest to posing a new path, beneath the glib phrases and pat formulas there was little content.

Even at best, when Douglas talked in terms of guaranteeing full employment, what program did he present that could make this appear other than empty demagogy? Some NDP candidates even publicly disassociated themselves from this demand and nowhere was there presented any policy of public ownership to realize full employment.

Instead of roundly denouncing red baiting when it was directed by the Liberals against the Tories for trading with Cuba and China, and by the Tories against Pearson, the NDP leadership joined in full cry, making themselves a laughing stock and an opponent of civil rights with their threats of legal action against the Communist Party.

The leadership undercut one of the party's few positions of differentiation — opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces —with its voluble statements of adherence to the NATO alliance. In fact no party appeared more committed to the policies of Western imperialism than the NDP.

Having linked up this labor party to the U.S. Democrats with the adoption of the name New Democrats, the leadership made a further identification with President Kennedy for his conflict with the medical hierarchy. This linkage with Kennedy-of-the-Cuban-invasion took place while he is more clearly identified with nuclear testing, a wage freeze, and inaction on integration.

The NDP leadership so tried to out Liberal the Liberals that they seized upon and reproduced with party funds in the mass circulation dailies a column by Pierre Berton of the **Star.** The column ridiculed them for "desperately trying to pretend that the NDP really isn't radical, unorthodox, daring, imaginative or in any sense un-Canadian," but they rushed into print with it because it ended up supporting the NDP, not for governmental office but as a "needle and wheedle" of the capitalist parties.

This federal election constitutes a real test of the leadership and the policies adopted at the founding convention. This test has found both wanting.

It is now necessary to launch a full discussion from the constituency level of the party, through the unions, right on up to the highest level. The coming provincial conventions must be wide open forums for full discussion and correction of the situation.

Nothing must be allowed to prevent such actions. The future of the NDP depends upon it.

'COMMONWEALTH' POINTS THE WAY

Bouncing back from the body blow we received in Saskatchewan the editors of the Prairie New Democrat COMMONWEALTH placed a full page ad in the June 27 issue.

They ask how is it possible that the NDP in the province was not more successful?

How is it possible that T. C. Douglas could be defeated? And reply:

"The answer is simple. We have failed to explain to the general public the social and political issues involved. A public which properly understood the principles and aims of New Democracy would not turn away from it."

Yes, the party, the leadership, has failed the Canadian working people. It's high time to get to work and formulate a series of principles and aims that clearly demark the party as a labor party, as a party that has the answers on the issues confronting the workers and farmers.

WORKERS' VANGUARD #76 JULY 1962

What is the Meaning of Cuban Revolution to Cdn. Workers

July '62 BY P. KENT

What is the significance of the Cuban revolution? At what stage is it and what does it mean for Latin America, and for Canada, for that matter?

These very serious questions are posed by a lengthy article appearing under the name of Alf Dewhurst, educational director of the Ontario section of the Communist Party, in the May 14 issue of the **Canadian Tribune**, dedicated to attacking Trotskyism.

A major part of the article reaches far back into the disputes in the Russian Communist Party, but, as interesting and as false as it is, we will forgo dealing with this material in order to comment on the much more immediate and burning issue of the Cuban revolution.

Cuba is no small matter for Canadian socialists. It is a socialist revolution just 90 miles off the shore of the North American continent which has boldly demonstrated that a revolution can be launched and can successfully establish itself under the very nose of the most powerful capitalist-imperialist force in the world.

In the face of its importance and the weakness of the forces in this country identifying themselves with its cause one would logically think that all those involved in Cuba's defence, despite whatever their differences on other matters, would have a feeling of common purpose. One would think, that finding themselves with common agreement on such a vital issue there would be an honest investigation of any points of disagreement.

Not so with this article in the **Canadian Tribune**. In a summary following several paragraphs on Cuba, it declares that the "'theories' and activities" of Trotskyism "are essentially counter-revolutionary . . . Marxists can give no quarter to the counter-revolutionary views of Trotskyism either in theory and practice."

After we cast aside the canard that the Trotskyists call for the export of the Cuban revolution to other countries—for Cuba to serve as the base for a revolutionary war in Latin America (Fidel Castro has effectively answered the same canard flung at the young workers' republic by the war dogs of the U.S. State Department)—what is the disagreement over Cuba that leads the **Tribune** to declare that the Trotskyist views are essentially counter-revolutionary?

Dewhurst attacks a Trotskyist writer for describing "the socialist nationalization already effected in Cuba as the establishment of 'socialist type institutions'", which he interprets as not seeing "socialism being built in that country."

To say that socialism has not been established in Cuba is by no means to belittle the Cuban revolution and its great achievements. On the contrary. It is to more clearly understand the tasks before the revolution. Nor is this opinion exclusively that of the Trotskyists. That Cuba is not yet socialist but has only taken the first decisive steps towards socialism was the thread running through Fidel Castro's July 26, 1961 speech. It provided the theme for another speech by Blas Roca, the long-time leader of the Cuban CP (PSP), which is available in English in several forms.

Referring to some of the achievements of the Cuban people, Roca states: "These are the material bases and main instruments for the construction of socialism in our country over a short period of time. These are in effect, the foundations of socialism. This, as Fidel reminded us, is not socialism yet. The revolution has given much to the people and the masses, despite the fact that we have only taken the first steps towards socialism . . ."

Regardless of the reason for Dewhurst gagging (possibly it's the contrast between the situation in Cuba and the obviously less favorable one in the Soviet Union, declared to be socialist and to be moving onto communism since the early thirties), the view which he condemns as Trotskyist is held by not only Castro but Blas Roca.

Then the **Tribune** attacks the Trotskyist writer for stating that the "natural course of the Cuban revolution is to cross its national boundaries and ignite revolutionary conflagrations throughout Latin America," for saying "that in reality the Cuban revolution only 'constitutes the opening of the Latin America revolution' and can be 'properly appreciated only in this wider context.'"

"This view of the Cuban revolution is nothing more nor less" writes Dewhurst "than Trotsky's false theory of permanent revolution in a Latin American setting."

The Trotskyist writer's comments deal with one aspect of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. But permanent revolution or not, what is the chief significance of the Cuban Revolution if it is not that it is the inspiration of and heralds the beginning of the Latin American socialist revolution?

In his speech at Punta del Este, Che Guevara declared: "What we cannot ensure is that the idea of Cuba will not take root in some other American country, and we can assure this Conference that unless urgent social measures are taken, the Cuban example will take root in the people and then something that Fidel said one 26th of July will come true. Fidel said that if social conditions continued as they were then 'The Andes Mountains will become the Sierra Maestre of America.'"

Hasn't the CP educational director read the Second Declaration of Havana? It is permeated with the spirit of what he calls Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. The entire latter part is an analysis of the forces making for the leaping of the Cuban Revolution through all Latin America. One thing for sure, neither the Cuban leadership nor masses has any concept of socialism in one country.

If what Dewhurst describes is Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, then the leadership of the Cuban revolution is Trotskyist. We would not attribute such a position to the leaders of the Cuban revolution—the views that they express flow from the principles of Marxism-Leninism to which they ascribe, their own experiences, and the capacity they have demonstrated to meet the problems of the revolution in an honest and a profoundly revolutionary way.

For our part we look upon the Cuban revolution not just as friends, not merely as defenders of their right to self determination, nor as sideline rooters for their victories .We see the Cuban revolution not only as a Latin American phenomenom but as OUR revolution, as proof of the great possibilities that lie dormant in the Canadian economy and in the Canadian people and will flourish once they decide to establish workers' power, into the elimination of unemployment, racism, and the creation of a land of peace and plenty.

ATTENTION

Due to increased publishing costs the editors of **Workers Vanguard** have decided to raise the price of the paper. From now on the regular rate of the **Vanguard** will be 10 cents a copy and $1.00 for a one year subscription (12 issues).

However, during the summer months, the branches and friends of the League for Socialist Action are making special efforts to broaden the **Vanguard's** circulation. Four Trailblazers are spending their entire summer carrying its socialist message across the country from Toronto to the West Coast.

So that price will be no obstacle, during this compaign which is designed to introduce the paper to thousands of new readers, the paper will sell at a special rate. All subscriptions accompanied with the coupon on the back page will be accepted at the old rate of 50 cents a year (12 issues).

Vol. 7 (No. 3) (77) August, 1962 23 Toronto—Price 10 cents

Sask NDP Wins Medicare Yield Much to Doctors

PROTEST IN MONTREAL

In major cities across Canada, opponents of the Saskatchewan doctors' walk-out picketed the local headquarters of the Canadian Medical Association. While thousands favored Medical Care Plan, nowhere did the NDP rally this support by holding mass meetings.

By the Editors

Now that the Saskatchewan doctors, ganged together in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, have ended their attempt to abort the health plan that the CCF-NDP government projected three years ago, where do things stand?

Today in Saskatchewan, thanks to an NDP government, we have the first compulsory, comprehensive health plan on the American continent. This victory considerably strengthens the hands of Canadians who wish to see the dollar sign removed from around free accessibility of everyone to the tremendous achievements of medical science.

While the doctor's association declared its intention to smash the plan, with the aid of the radio, press, TV, headed up by a formidable alliance of Big Business interests, the provincial Liberal Party machine, Social Crediters, bigots and obscurantists of all kinds, and made threatening gestures in the direction of bringing the government down—they never seriously hoped to realize this objective.

They knew that the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP government elected to office in 1960 on a promise to implement the plan could not possibly concede on its compulsory and comprehensive clauses—and survive. To have given here would have been to seal the fate of the Saskatchewan government and possibly that of the federal party itself.

The doctors and their ruthless national and international backers sought at best to get themselves into positions from where they could move out against the plan under more favorable circumstances, and from where they could hope to undermine the benefits that could come from it and thus make it possible to weaken the case for its extension. In this, due to the lack of firmness of the Lloyd government, the doctors have been successful beyond their own expectations.

The worst fears of many NDPers expressed, while far reaching concessions were being made to the doctors some months back by the Lloyd government, but suppressed during the provincial convention which was in session as negotiations with college representatives reached a climax, were materialized in the final agreement signed by the government.

The fact that in Saskatchewan, unlike other provinces, the licensing body and the doctor's own mutual-interest body, the CMA, are fused in one and the same organization, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, was a powerful lever in the doctors' hands.

At the height of the emergency the Registrar of the College used his licensing power to bar 19 British doctors from practising over a weekend—at one time there were 32 doctors awaiting registration. With threats of legal action and arrest the college barred an American doctor from practising and drove him out of the country. So arrogant was the college in its attempt to block outside doctors from coming into the province that the government felt compelled to hire a US lawyer who has devoted his life to defence of doctors practising in co-operative clinics from punitive actions by the notorious American Medical Association. It also felt called upon to name a one-man royal commission to investigate harassment of outside doctors.

Doctors Still Threaten Plan

But the government made no move of any kind to utilize the authority vested in it to deprive the college of this unwarranted authority. In fact the leaders of the party used their prestige to lose and table in the panel sessions of the NDP convention two resolutions

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...from page 1

from the Prince Albert and the Canora constituencies calling for militant action against the doctors. Resolutions from Maple Creek, four other constituency organizations, and the youth convention, demanding that licensing be put under an independent board organized by the University, were shoved aside by a substitute resolution which gave the government a carte blanche. Far from clipping the powers of the medical hierarchy the government, in the final agreement, stepped up doctor representation on the Medicare Commission from two to five and bound itself to cease recruiting doctors from outside the province to work under the act.

During the course of the conflict hospital employees were threatened with loss of job if they refused to sign "keep-our-doctors" committee petitions. A hospital in Biggar fired a British doctor from practising; other doctors, like O. J. Hjertaas, who continued to honour their Hippocratic oath, were refused use of hospital facilities. While many of the party's leaders on occasion refer to public ownership, not a word was spoken, not the slightest move was made in the direction of bringing the private hospitals under public ownership into the Medicare plan.

The doctors retain all their positions—even worse—they were granted concessions which everyone would consider they would automatically lose in the ordinary course of events as the plan went into operation.

The voluntary doctor-controlled Group Medical Service and Medical Services Incorporated, which could only be considered as being rendered totally superfluous by a compulsory comprehensive plan, are to remain. In all probability it was with regards to this aspect of the agreement that Dr. A. D. Kelly, general secretary of the Canadian Medical Association said "it was a good compromise on both sides," and added his agreement with other medical men that it did not by any means represent the beginning of the end of their resistance to government sponsored prepaid health insurance.

Latest reports are that a considerable core of doctors, over 100 in the key Regina area, members of the Regina and District Medical

Doctors Hope to Subvert Medicare

(Continued from Page One)

Society, are out to make their agencies power centers for continued struggle against the Medicare operations. They have all decided, as the government guaranteed was their right, to work completely outside of Medicare. They are streamlining their prepaid agencies by setting, along with the payment of regular premiums, enrolment fees which their spokesmen say will not exceed $6 a year per family—just enough to cover cost of administration. In return for this—for relieving members of any responsibility of paying out or seeking reimbursement from Medicare—the doctors' associations will pay not 85% of the bill but the whole bill.

Had the doctors been shorn of their power over the hospitals and licensing, had they been dealt what they themselves would understand as a defeat, with payments to Medicare being compulsory one could expect that the doctor-controlled agencies would find no takers. But the doctors are unrevised and unrepentant in their opposition to the provincial health plan. The traditional doctor-patient relationship permits the doctors to anticipate that they can cajole many into sustaining the private agencies so that they can be developed into powerful centers for continued attacks on Medicare.

One of the few heartening aspects of the whole situation in Saskatchewan is the grass root initiation and support that has been won to consumer-organized group practice medical clinics in a number of communities.

The Saskatchewan Citizens for Medical Care, through a provincial co-ordinating committee headed up by W. M. Harding, has offered aid in the organization of such facilities. Its paper, **The Public Voice for Medical Care Insurance**, had a circulation of 54,000 first week and 149,000 second week.

By July 1 a Prince Albert clinic with four doctors was in operation and a few days later a four doctor clinic was underway in Saskatoon. Preparations for a Regina clinic got underway with an enthusiastic rally of 350. At Biggar 350 families encompassing 1,400 persons have raised $40,000 to start their clinic. By July 21 co-ops had been organized or were in the process of organization in 16 communities.

The organization of Community Health Association branches right across the province is an effective way of making full utilization of the services of those doctors who have completely identified themselves with Medicare, and of making it possible to attract those doctors who are seeking a way out of the vicious policies into which the hierarchy has pushed them. The co-op clinics are necessary to bolster up Medicare, the success of which has been imperilled by the weak-kneed policies of the leadership of the NDP, if it is truly to become the wedge for winning a health plan on a national plane.

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September 1962

Editorials

ONT NDP STARTS DEBATE ON HOW TO BUILD PARTY

Sept 62

By the Editorial Staff

Some highly significant debate has broken out in the NDP over the real meaning of the June 18 election results. While the Douglas-Lewis leadership would have public and membership alike believe it was a "modest success," if not an actual victory, Val Scott, candidate in the Ontario constituency of York Center, presents an entirely different picture in a full page analysis in the August issue of The New Democrat.

Stating what many foot-weary rank and file members are thinking Scott warns "If we are to see things in perspective, we must first stop smoking our special brand of home-made opium (the kind that appeared, for example, in the last issue of The New Democrat, which tends to delude us into thinking we are doing better than we are."

"Let's face it," he continues, "the recent federal election results were a big disappointment. The New Democratic Party should have—and could have—done much better."

He points out that breaking the million mark, played up as a historic first by the top brass ". . . does not represent anything more

(See Page 3—VAL SCOTT)

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Val Scott Starts NDP Debate

(Continued from Page 1)

than what the old CCF could have accomplished. In fact, in 1957 the CCF had 25 seats . . .and proportionally (taking into account the population increase) almost as many votes. . . ."

"We must remember the New Democratic Party was created as a means for attaining federal power—not in the remote future—but as soon as possible."

"So what's wrong with us?" he asks, posing a question that all concerned with building the NDP must seriously think about and answer.

Unfortunately, his explanation of why the NDP failed to register votes is far from adequate. Says Scott, "What is required to get our party into the major league of Canadian politics is a lot more money and a lot more work, and a lot more people contributing towards both in a way they have never contributed before. . . . we should be trying to emulate the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit parties in this respect. Of course, we can't expect to match their millions, but we could at least start thinking in terms of millions."

But the NDP tried in this election to do just this. It spent a million dollars, more than the CCF ever had, for lavish pamphlets and signs, mimicking all the gimmicks the Liberals and Tories used in their campaigns. To continue fighting the wealthy parties of big business on this level can only bring results similar to those of June 18.

The NDP must offer something the old line parties haven't got before workers will look to it. And this is a dynamically presented, clear-cut, working class program that assists labor in battle against the corporations, that pits itself in direct conflict against Tory austerity measures. This is what was missing in the June campaign, which the leadership geared to appeal to "liberally-minded people," undermining the image of a labor-farmer party and burying whatever programatic planks demark the NDP from the parties of the corporations. (See June issue of the Workers Vanguard for further election analysis.)

Continuing his argument that there was a shortage of money and workers, Scott tries to make out ". . . this whole (trade union) affiliation process is . . . more of a liability than an asset" because it causes "illusions of security and complacency."

To get money and workers, Scott would simply abolish affiliate memberships and boost the cost of ordinary memberships to a minimum of $12 from its present level of $2.50 a year per person.

Certainly to take these steps would be to throw a wet towel over what interest does exist in the NDP among workers. Insofar as labor has supported the NDP it is largely through affiliation and the fact that low membership dues make its participation possible. By erecting new barriers to a growth of labor action these proposals would stop the NDP's development into a mass participation party and turn it into one operated by a well-off few.

Scott claims affiliation causes "lazy attitudes." But does non-affiliation mean an end to this problem? No! Although 800,000 members of the CLC are not affiliated, in June they did not produce the bulk of the campaign activists. These came from affiliated locals.

Scott points out ". . . there has been no organized effort east of BC to turn affiliated membership into regular . . . into constituency members." But this is no argument for ending affiliation. It is an argument for immediately beginning a campaign to activate affiliated workers. It reveals how little has been done by the leadership to do this and how ineffective the existing program is.

However poor, even dangerous, his arguments and conclusions are, Scott has at least opened the door to a thorough-going discussion on the meaning of the election results. Before the coming Ontario provincial convention, and those not far off in other provinces, trade unions and constituency members must carry this discussion further, must hammer out the programatic and organizational changes that are needed if the NDP is to avoid running the risk of having a disaster at the next election.

ECM, A-BOMB ISSUES IN BLP

Sept '62 By Ross Dowson WV.

The nuclear arms issue is by no means dead in Britain, as the list of resolutions submitted by constituency labor parties and trade unions for the big annual Labour Party conference testifies.

The recently announced agreement of the British Conservatives to allow the United States to fly U2s from bases in England, and the repercussions from its abandonment of the Blue Water missile, will in all probability heighten interest in the 31 resolutions presented to this year's Labour conference in Brighton from October 1 to 5.

Some 22 of the resolutions are unilateralist, with 13 of these urging British withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Eight resolutions specifically condemn the Parliamentary Labour Party and the National Executive for their failure to implement last year's conference decision against all nuclear tests. The Supervisory Staffs, Executive and Technicians' resolution goes to great pains to close up the loopholes through which the top brass sought to cover up its apologies for the U.S. tests. The Norfolk Federation "deplores . . . the failure of the Party nationally to organize realistic and effective protest."

Of the 51 resolutions on the Common Market 39 forthrightly oppose British membership. The Deptford resolution condemns it as "merely an economic and political parallel of NATO, aimed at stabilizing the regime of private enterprise in Western Europe." The Swansea East CLP poses an alternative. It urges the Labor Party leadership and the Trade Union Congress to "convene a conference of European working class organizations . . . asking specific trade unions to prepare plans for the state ownership and internationalization of their industries on the basis of workers' management and control as concrete steps towards a Socialist United States of Europe." Lord Attlee's recent statement will certainly strengthen the opposition to Gaitskell's policy of conceding on the conditions that the party previously laid down.

Hand in hand with the leaderships' failure to uphold last year's adopted resolutions has been its assault on opposition currents in the movement. Five resolutions attack the NEC for its blackballing of several left wing parliamentary candidates. Another six score the leadership for its autocratic attitude to the party's youth movement — The Young Socialists. Another three attack the leadership for its policy of proscriptions.

A preview of the representative Labour Party Conference will be seen at the Sept. 3-7 Blackpool conference of the Trade Union Congress which we will be covering for the next issue of the Vanguard.

Curb on Free Speech Hits Labor

Sept '62

By Ross Dowson

British Liberal and Labour opinion has demanded action against the fascists by MacMillan's Tory government and now they have the first fruits. Trafalgar Square, the sight of the most massive popular demonstrations yet seen in the West, has been closed down to the anti-fascists.

Trafalgar Square is an imposing expansive area in the heart of London. I went there on the day of my arrival to see Committee for Nuclear Disarmament supporters gathered around the base of Nelson's column for shots being taken for a movie that they are producing. It was here that the British working class rallied to protest the assault on the Suez that posed the threat of a 3rd World War. The square is looked upon as a symbol of freedom of speech. But ironically, through the governments barring it to several tiny fascist groups, it is now barred to the left.

The Minister of Works, at the same time as he announced his decision to withhold permits for three fascist meetings for this and next month, expounded a policy which would enforce a ban on meetings by any other minority, any unpopular or anti-government group. The ministry's statement reads that "It would not be right to grant facilities for these meetings to be held in Trafalgar Square at a time of year when there are likely to be numbers of holiday makers and other visitors in the square" with the additional comment that it proposes to follow the same policy for the time being in dealing with other applications for the use of the square which "seem likely to cause grave inconvenience to the public."

All the applications from conservative and religious associations for the year have been granted. But among them are two that have been marked "under consideration,"—the Ex-Service Movement for Peace application for September 2 and the Irish Political Prisoners' Release Committee's for October 14.

With the development of the European Common Market, British politics are having an increasing impact on life in Canada. Workers VANGUARD editor Ross Dowson, now in England, reports on these important developments.

Thus we have an answer to the very serious question that in the past few months has increasingly come to plague anti-fascists in Britain. How to fight it? Can fascism be fought by seeking to deny its mouthpieces the elementary democratic rights that we have established for ourselves in long, hard-fought struggle? With what has happened to freedom of speech in Trafalgar Square the answer would obviously appear to be NO. To be sure, the fascists have been barred—but far more serious, an important precedent has been established against freedom of speech itself in Britain.

For some 14 years now the tiny group of fascists headed by the aging Sir Oswald Mosley has been

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BRITISH LABOR STRUCK BY ANTI-FASCIST LAWS

(Continued from Page 1)

holding meetings in one London area, with several in Trafalgar Square since 1959. But in the last month his National Union Movement and Colin Jordan's National Socialists have been making a big publicity play. They are no doubt attempting to take advantage of the crisis that has been developing for the right in Britain—the ranks of the Tories are undergoing wide splits on a whole series of questions. Then too, there is rising unemployment —lumpen elements have been taking it out on Negroes who had been coming to England from the West Indies in increasingly large waves of immigration. The government fed the racists with its discriminatory bar on further immigration and its empowering of magistrates' courts to recommend the deportation of immigrants for infractions of the law.

The fascist grouplets have been moving out to hold meetings in areas where they could anticipate opposition and widespread publicity. And they have been getting all kinds of publicity. Counter - demonstrations have brought an end to Mosley's meetings before he could even get on the platform and have resulted in numerous arrests by the police and harsh sentences by the courts.

The recent break-up of a National Socialist encampment by townfolk—the American Nazi Party leader Rockwell was a featured guest—got a tremendous play from the press. The Daily Mirror apparently donated from £400—£500 to the National Socialist treasury for a picture of Jordan and Rockwell shaking hands. The manhunt for Rockwell, which for inexplicable reasons extended into days, ended with his expulsion from the country in the glare of extravagant publicity. Rockwell's deportation served the Tories another purpose. It silenced possible protests against their refusal to grant the traditional right of asylum to the dying Dr. Robert Soblen—a victim of the US witch-hunt.

Labour blindly strode into this situation with appeals for government action against the fascists. The Labour representative from Islington East challenged the government—since it could be anticipated that fascist meetings would cause disturbance—that they should be banned. The Labour representative from Hackney urged that there should be a ban on public meetings in such areas as Ridley Road, where there are concentrated colored and Jewish populations. The Deputy Leader of the party, George Brown, joined in, possibly with other aims in view too. He has been smarting under the pressure of meetings held by Labour Party rank and filers against policies he has been advocating in the House. In his speech on August 3rd, in which he praised the police for their tolerance, he called for stringent action against the hoodlum element, and challenged the government to implement a ban. "The Home Secretary has, under the 1936 Act, all the powers he needs to ban anything in the nature of a procession," he declared.

But this was not only the policy of the right in the Labour Party. It took the well known Tribune correspondent and MP Tom Driberg to spell it out even more precisely.

He challenged the Home Secretary, who had been declaring his inability to ban a meeting in advance, that the Ministry of Works does have the power with regards to Trafalgar Square and demanded that the government tell the House whether the Jordan meeting was going to be allowed to be held.

With the appearance of extreme reluctance, as defenders of free speech, the Tories have established a precedent that can be used against the left. It took a Tory minister to point out the danger—that meetings planned by anybody can be frustrated by some newspaper or periodical announcing in advance that if a meeting is held they will break it up.

The fascists have gained tremendously through this episode. They have taken on some semblance of what they want to appear as—the only effective alternative to the left. Some will no doubt now believe that they are a force that all others fear to face. There is little doubt that they will cash in on their martyrdom.

The British left has made a serious error here. It is one that it could have avoided if it had been acquainted with a somewhat similar situation confronting the New York anti-fascists involving Rockwell last year. This problem was thrashed out in the pages of the American socialist weekly, The Militant. The New York anti-fascists opposed similar efforts to seek a ban on Rockwell's meeting. Which shows that while American Labor has much to learn from the British labor movement, it's a two-way street.

#78

Ranks of British Labour Party Provide Example to Cndn Labor

Sept / 62

By Ross Dowson

London, England.—All the recent direct experiences of Canadian New Democratic supporters with the British Labour Party have been unfortunate. They have been with the leadership, with Gaitskell, with Crossland. It was the latter at Winnipeg in 1956 who, alleging he had the experiences of the British workers behind him, stated the case for purging "the old socialism" from the CCF. Gaitskell was brought in to address last year's New Democratic founding convention at Ottawa. His function was to strengthen Douglas and Lewis in their efforts to block those who would commit the NDP to a clear anti-war, anti-NATO policy.

But what the British leadership have been party to imposing on the New Democratic Party, they have by no means succeeded in imposing on the Labour Party. One doesn't have to be long in England to see that. You don't have to talk to many Labour Party activists or to rummage through many news-stands. (August finds activity at its lowest ebb—there are no public meetings.)

It is transparently clear that the leadership of the Labour Party do not by any means represent the rank and file. The startling contrast between their current policies and the resolutions submitted by constituency Labour parties for the consideration of the coming convention at Brighton that have just been released are eloquent testimony to this. So too, is Gaitskell's arrogant defiance of last year's party decisions, particularly those on rejecting testing and calling for unilateralism. The rightward course of the Gaitskell leadership has seen a chasm open up between it and the party membership, with the Parliamentary Labour Party almost alone holding it in position. The New Democratic Party leadership, flesh of the flesh of the British Labour Party leadership, have attempted to learn the lessons of the British experience and so shape the NDP as to eliminate from the start the problems which now beset Gaitskell—so they hope.

STRONG LEFT WING

When we say the British Labour Party leadership do not represent the rank and file we are not expressing an opinion—a long range or historic judgment. In Canada there is only one organized force, the League for Socialist Action, fighting for a socialist policy. There is no voice of consequence other than the Vanguard. But here in England, aside from the Newsletter Tribune, and Labour Review, already known to some Canadians, there is a rash of journals of varied left opinion in a wide range of formats and reproduction techniques. There is **Young Guard, Keep Left, Socialist Fight, The New University, International Socialism, New Left Review, Socialist Current, Protest, Workers News, Trade Union Affairs, Evidence, Solidarity, Clarion, Sanity,** and so on. Plans are well underway to publish a new socialist paper directed primarily to trade unionists. One of the initiators is Ernie Roberts, (Amalgamated Engineers Union), who reported to a meeting in the Commons that it would be distributed through the machinery of **Labour Voice**—a series of papers edited by MP Frank Alluan—and that it is intended to start with the first issue on Jan. 1, 1963. with a circulation of 10,000 copies. Sponsors include an imposing array of leading Labour Party unionists and MP's, among them MP Bob Edwards (CWU); Ian Mikardo; MP S. O. Davies, etc.

While the left is diverse and atomized it has a semblance of organization around these periodicals—the Socialist Labour League, Unity, Victory for Socialism, such groups as are connected with the Movement for Colonial Freedom, the Committee of 100 (Lord Russell renewed his membership in the party), the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament which at its last rally rejected independent electoral activity and went on record as favoring industrial action. And aside from whatever organized strength the left may or may not have in this or that constituency, the Socialism-Marxism is rooted in the ranks of the BLP.

The Newsletter. The Socialist Labour League, and now **Keep Left** has already been proscribed by the party's National Executive Committee. The NEC is in the midst of a campaign to strengthen and make even more absolute its disciplinary powers to drive more militants from the party and to intimidate any and all opposition to its course.

DEMAND PURGE END

So tremendous has been the opposition throughout the party that the NEC has been compelled to backtrack, and it is not excluded that the whole campaign will result in a defeat of the Gaitskell clique and a strengthening of the socialists. Thwarted in their attempt to purge Lord Russell, Lord Chorley, Lady Wooton, and Canon Collins for their sponsorship of the Moscow Peace Conference, the NEC struck back with a proposal to amend the constitution that would not just make membership in a proscribed organization but "association" with the proscribed organization grounds for expulsion.

Six members of the NEC, Barbara Castle, Tom Driberg, Jennie Lee, Ian Mikardo, Anthony Greenwood, and Richard Crossman have announced their decision to fight this "guilt by association" clause as literal McCarthyism and to win reversal by the party conference. The NEC proposal to amend the constitution needs a two-thirds majority, and with the Transport & General Workers Union's million odd votes against it, it has every possibility of being defeated.

Ontario NDPers will recollect the leaderships attempts last fall to impose a guilt by association clause on the NDP. It was only frustrated by the enquiry—"does this mean that we lose one of our MPP's who happens to be a

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GAITSKELL'S MAN UNDER HEAVY FIRE

The London Central Bus Committee has urged the executive of the mighty Transport and General Workers Union to withdraw support from George Brown, one of the Union's sponsored parliamentary candidates.

Brown is the deputy leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party and Gaitskell's right hand man.

This motion arises out of an admission by Brown, in the face of numerous rumours, that for the past 9 years he has been receiving a fee from one of the most powerful mouthpieces of Big Business—**The Daily Mirror**— as an advisor on industrial affairs.

While **The Daily Mirror's** policies of course differ sharply from that of the Labour Party, it has been offering its opinion about labor policy on all fronts —with the aid of an advisor with the second ranking position in the party.

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member of U.E. local in Hamilton?" Every NDP convention has witnessed a resistance to granting the leadership a veto on candidates for public office. Ever since the big 1954 purge in Ontario the CCF-NDP leadership, rather than lay charges and face appeals, has resorted to the completely unconstitutional device of dropping dissidents from membership by simply failing to grant renewals. It has also been adopting the technique, after a member has had his card lifted, of encouraging non-acceptance of his transfer by another constituency. This has all been going on before the British Labour Party, with the big difference that none of these autocratic witch-hunting devices have been constitutionalized and are everywhere meeting widespread opposition.

Not only is the attempt of the NEC to write McCarthyism into the constitution being challenged all down the line, but the proscription of **Keep Left** and the witch-hunt against **Young Guard** and the Young Socialists has rouse widespread protest throughout the party.

The **"Save the Young Socialist"** meeting held just before the holiday season in London was packed to standing room only. On the platform along with **Tribune** editor Dick Clements were two members of the National Committee of the Young Socialists, one of whom has been suspended. This meeting was announced as the first of a series to be held up and down the country commencing this autumn.

The Central and North Nottingham Labour Party constituencies passed a resolution demanding that the Young Socialist newspapers, **Keep Left** and **Young Guard** be allowed to continue publishing, with only the vote of the paid organizer against.

There is certain to be considerable protest since the **New Statesman** has disclosed that its office manager was refused a transfer of membership into the East Islington Party. This constituency party, emboldened by the NEC witch-hunt, has also refused to accept a transfer of membership of a leading Glascow Young Socialist.

So far the NEC has refused to budge except on one case—its veto of seven left wing list B candidates. More than 140 constituencies have endorsed AEU leader Horsham's appeal. The Kent National Union of Miners have decided to sponsor the parliamentary candidature of Paddington Councillor Harrington for Dover despite NEC refusal to endorse him.

BLP RANKS ALIVE

As if to sum up the rank and file attitude to the Gaitskell leadership, the South Paddington Constituency Labour Party has asked the National Committee of the Labour Party to appoint a committee to investigate the "factional" activities of Mr. Gaitskell and "his anti-party group."

The resolution attacks Gaitskell's rejection of official party policy on the H-Bomb tests, his pledge that a Labour Government would not nationalize the Imperial Chemical Institute Trust, and his failure to vote against the MacMillan government along with 34 other MP's on a question of a debate on British troops being sent into Laos.

The rank and file of the British Labour Party—the British working class organized in this mighty political body, are very much alive. And it may not be long before their example, and not the treacherous influence of their misleaders, will be ringing out as an inspiration and a guide to the Canadian working class.

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October 1962 – Editorials

NDP Brass's Program Will Not End Crisis

OCT 62

By the Editorial Staff

The crisis confronting the New Democratic Party in Ontario, revealed by the results of the June 18 election campaign, is not to be solved by mere financial means. The membership fee increase proposal by the provincial executive to the convention being held in Toronto over Thanksgiving weekend can at best be considered a dubious method of providing some temporary financial relief, probably to be quickly offset by a decline in membership.

This financial crisis—that no one denies exists—mirrors a much deeper crisis, one of a programmatic and political nature. Financial difficulties would quickly be pushed down to a secondary problem if the constituency clubs and the affiliate members were active in party affairs and decisions. The solution lies in recruiting more party workers and inspiring these along with the existing membership to play a bigger role in deciding policy and activity of the movement.

The old practice that helped lead to the decline of the CCF, watering down the program and making the constituency clubs mere electoral machines, active handbill distributors when each election comes around, dormant in the long periods between, has been imitated in the NDP and must be terminated immediately. The political education and stimulation of the membership is a major task now confronting the party.

Had discussion been promoted at the local level following the electoral set-back, had members been encouraged to bring forward analyses and suggest corrective steps, this task would already be well on the way to solution, the dispirited mood prevailing in many constituencies could well have been overcome. But the only discussion presented was in the pages of The New Democrat, provoked by Val Scott, and this was not generally carried to the local level.

How much the MacDonald leadership did to stimulate things is displayed by the fact that the draft program that the leadership hopes to have adopted will not even be seen by the majority of the delegates until they pick up their convention kits. This is all the more damning when it is remembered that no program was settled on last year—only a rough provisional report was worked out.

(See Page 3—DEBATE)

Debate New Ont. NDP Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Some parts of the draft are clearly desirable components of what the program should be—such as the universal medical health plan and the minimum wage law. But far outweighing these specifics is the general approach of the draft. Not once does it acknowledge that we live in a capitalist—"free enterprise" if you will—society racked with all the diseases of a decrepit social order—inflation, arms build-up, austerity, increased anti-labor legislation, chronic "built-in" unemployment, and economic stagnation. While the purpose of the program should be to resolve such problems, the draft is not designed for that purpose—but rather as a vote-catcher, an appeal to the "consumer" that will appeal to everyone and alienate no one. The draft's first, most important section, headed "We Are All Consumers," reads, "It is from the point of view of the consumer, in the broad sense, that this program has been prepared."

The results of the appeal to "liberally-minded people" in the June campaign should teach the lesson that there is no such thing as an appeal to ALL people, that to use this type of approach destroys the image of a labor-farmer party, cuts down support from the largest sections of the population, and turns the NDP into a narrow appeal to middle class elements.

Not only does it fail to come to grips with the problems, but even as a vote-catcher this approach can be expected to produce meagre results. Because it makes no critique and suggests no replacement for the capitalist system of production, Liberal and Conservative propagandists need have no qualms at all about picking this program up as it is, perhaps even welcoming the idea if they believe it will have popular appeal.

Despite the false and unscientific approach, something might be said of the draft if it lead to a dynamic, programmatic opposition to Tory austerity, if it made clear that the appeal was to working class consumers, if bold steps against monopoly exploitation were proposed.

But far from leading to differences with Tory economic policy, far from leading to a fight against unemployment, the war drive, inflation, and so on, this approach leads to a coming together of the NDP and Tory policies. One quite typical sentence reads: "Where an industry is lagging, research assistance, tax concessions, and other inducement will be provided." Straight from the handbook of Conservatism!

The continuation of this direction of development, both programmatically and organizationally, can lead very quickly to the bankruptcy of the party, similar to the fateful end of the CCF. The task of stopping its rightward movement is the difficult and all-important one confronting the convention delegates. The resolution of the crisis can be begun by working out a program that bases itself on recognition of the real class differences that exist in Western society. In formulating and presenting such a program the militants and socialists have a major role to play.

Growth of Sask. Clinics Imperative for Medicare

By Cliff Orchard

The battle to win a medical health plan in Saskatchewan is far from over. Feelings continue to run high — in some areas higher than during the days of the doctors walkout — as the new community clinics fight to establish themselves and prevent the plan from being subverted.

The Commonwealth, weekly

broken the power of the College which has used its monopoly on Medical skills in the province to force government, other doctors and the people into line."

". . . Passions are running at a much higher pitch in some of these communities than at any time during the Medical Care dispute itself. On one side is found local businessmen, Liberals, hos-

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British Youth Keep Banned Paper Going

OCT '62

By Ross Dowson

I picked up a copy of the 8 page tabloid **Keep Left** which the general secretary of the massive British Labour Party, a Mr. Len Williams, has declared will result in expulsion from the party for anyone who sells it, writes for it, or helps it in its activities. I found the address of the editor, Roger Protz, on the back page and went out to see him at his home in North London. He turned out to be quite a young man, 23 years of age, tall, thin, of a serious bearing, a ready smile, and pleased to meet a Canadian socialist.

Roger told me that he has been active in the fight to win the British workers to the support of the fundamental policies of the Labour Party and the establishment of a Labour government for three years now—ever since he came out of his stint in the army.

Roger's recent run-in with the Labour Party brass isn't his first. With a slight smile he told me that "in April 1961 they sacked me as editor of **New Advance**, official organ of the Labour Party." The national leadership of the party could do this because they and not the youth controlled the paper and they were opposed to the paper under his editorship, he explained—campaigning for left-wing policies, for unilaterialism—for policies actually adopted by the Young Socialist's convention. But this time they couldn't silence him by depriving him of his job because Roger became editor of **Keep Left**, a paper based on rank and file support with a record of almost 11 years campaigning for socialism amongst British youth. What they did this time was to proscribe **Keep Left**, an "English" word for ban; meaning beware if you're seen reading it, and if you associate yourself with it in any formal way—out of the party you go.

It was Gaitskell's deputy, George Brown and his Organization Sub-Committee, which so compromised the Labour Party in public eyes over its attempt to drive from the party the internationally famed Bertrand Russell, that did the job on **Keep Left**.

Taking their cue from a press report of Brown's action, "with indecent haste" as Roger put it, the executive of the St. Pancras North Labour Party hauled him on the mat and demanded that he make a statement as to whether he was going to continue to associate himself with **Keep Left**. At that time he told me "I wasn't sure whether I would or not—whether **Keep Left** could survive proscription." But no matter. He was expelled on the grounds that he was "unwilling to state whether or not he would continue to edit **Keep Left**."

"I have since written to the General Secretary of the Party, for the right of appeal to the National Executive Committee and I have been granted it," he said.

There has been a tremendous reaction through the Labour Party, through the constituency parties and the unions, against the high-handed actions of the top leadership, their continued intervention, and their frustration of democracy in the Young Socialists. This will be one of the big issues at the coming Party conference.

This action against **Keep Left** isn't the first—is part of a whole series of interventions in the youth movement. After the first attack, slightly less than two years ago, Roger told me, **Keep Left** boomed—doubling its circulation to 10,000 from 5,000. Some 50 youth clubs were sponsors of it at the time of the ban. The policies advocated by **Keep Left** were by and large those adopted by the national conferences.

"The leadership which has been flagrantly violating official party policy is terribly worried about the youth. The youth ir left and it is growing," he said earnestly. "It is interested in fighting for a militant and socialist policy and the leadership are finding it difficult to contol. In many areas the growth of the youth movement has given the adult party a lift, through its reactivating many who had been sitting demoralized on their hands for years."

"The leadership want a youth movement, but one that will supply leaflet distributors, that between elections will remain passive. But that isn't the character of the youth. Twice before, the party leadership has smashed the youth movement. But that isn't in the cards now—the youth movement, despite the fact that it is still largely white-collar (except for Mersey-side and some areas in Scotland where it has a mass base and is working-class) and has very little autonomy, is composed of some 750 branches, and it is Left, as the last two conferences so eloquently testify."

The last conference elected a left-wing National Committee. Since the conference in April or May of this year, the NEC intervened to suspend four members of the committee, thus, with its own two members, autocratically assuring its control of the committee.

After it proscribed **Keep Left** the NEC suggested it was going to proscribe another Socialist youth paper called **Young Guard**.

While they haven't yet proscribed it, it has been forbidden to call rallies, encampments, etc., and has been restricted to being merely a platform for discussion. **Young Guard** took a vigorous stand in opposition to the proscription of **Keep Left**.

What of the future? Roger is certain that he will be reinstated in the party, and that the ban will be lifted. Just when, he is not sure. One thing for sure, "**Keep Left** is going to fight on; is going to keep coming out," he said, as he pointed to the headline in the last issue. "We've had to withdraw the list of sponsoring clubs as a form of protection. Our supporters have enthusiastically and determinedly rallied to our side and continued publication is assured."

Roger sees the Gaitskell clique's actions not as signs of strength—quite the opposite. They are signs of their weakness, and only prove that a sustained drive for a militant and socialist policy in the Labour Party and the unions will result in their utter route.

The youth in Britain, he told me, are moving forward. They are being stimulated by the fight against nuclear arms; they are thinking about the rising racism, the fascist activities and are wondering what's to be done about the increasing threat of unemployment.

We are certain to be hearing much more from Roger Protz, **Keep Left** and the British youth organized in the Young Socialists.

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"PEACE AND REVOLUTION" AT HELSINKI YOUTH FESTIVAL

OCT '62

By Ross Dowson

Brussels, Belium: While in Paris I saw many youth around the American Express office at Place de l'Opera and at various points of interest, wearing jeans and carrying haversacks of various types, some with guitars. They were on their way back from the Eighth Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship held at Helsinki. Although I had no opportunity to talk with any of them at the time, a fews days later in Brussels I came across George Saunders, who was the official representative of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance at Helsinki.

I had a two to three hour talk with George and I will try to present a picture of the Festival from what he told me about it. George speaks Russian and this allowed him to get around more freely where language differences created a big problem to others.

Interestingly, his knowledge of Russian and the fact that he had translated some recent poetry written by the gifted Soviet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, lead to George having a unique experience. Yevtushenko appeared at the festival. George spent one whole day with him there and later, after the festival, when taking a tour with 60 other youth into the Soviet Union, upon Yevtushenko's invitation, he spent another day with him in Moscow.

Of course George as a revolutionary socialist was by no means typical of the U.S. participants at the festival. The 450 strong U.S. delegation was the least politically oriented of the some 15,000 youth in attendance. Many delegates came for the holiday—taking advantage of the low rates.

Among the U.S. delegation there was a sizeable and very vocal group who came as apologists for the cold-war activities of the American government. The bulk of the U.S. delegates had leftist sympathies but limited themselves to expressions of friendship and platitudinous expressions for peace — scrupulously avoiding political discussion and ideological conflicts.

George couldn't tell me much about the Canadian delegation. It was bunking in with the British delegation which he noted counted very few Labour Party youth in its ranks. All the various delegations—the 1,000 from Italy, the 1,000 French, the 700 West German, were scattered across the city in public school facilities.

By far the most popular of the delegates were the Cubans. There were almost 400 of them and almost half were girls. The school where the Cubans housed was always open to visitors—and crowded. There was a tremendous enthusiasm and dynamism in everything that they did. Everyone wanted to be with and talk to them.

Cubans Elected

They took great pride in how their delegation was formed. All working class, peasant and student youth organizations nominated persons to go. There was a nationwide competition with everyone discussing the qualifications and merits of the nominees before making the decision.

The Asian delegation was quite small. The Chinese was less than 100 and strangely detached—even isolated. An American Negro who was active in the sit-ins and had studied in China expressed surprise and confusion over their attitude. They served tea, handed out their magazines and then withdrew.

The Albanians were very open and eager to talk. The East Europeans and the Soviet delegations lived on board their boats

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in the harbour and, with the exceptions of the Polish, were difficult to make close contact with. They appeared to George to be considerably older—almost professional youth.

It would be easy to get lost in the rounds of folk dancing and song fests. On one day there were 60 events, almost all cultural and athletic. The collegiums, the actual planned political discussions, were given no more weight than the various cultural events. There would be three or four seminars and on top of that inter-delegation meetings. The two student clubs open in the evenings were not attended by many.

Cold War Atmosphere

There was very much a cold war atmosphere. Greeting the delegates on their arrival, directly across from the railway station, was a large building decorated with American flags and red, white, and blue bunting. It housed an exhibition entitled America Presents which strangely opened and closed with the opening and closing of the festival, providing free lectures and jazz concerts which happened to overlap and cut into festival programs. Then there was **Helsinki Youth News**, an opposition daily paper printed in several languages and circulated everywhere, feeding on rumour and gossip on the inner workings of the festival.

Unfortunately certain aspects of the festival were handled in such a way as to play right into the hands of the opponents of the festival. It was extremely difficult to get on the speakers lists at the collegiums—particularly for socialists who the officials suspected of not being exponents of the Khrushchovist peaceful co-existence line. Some who did manage to get on the list were removed without explanation.

The Sri Lanka Freedom delegation, the youth movement of the governing party in Ceylon, walked out of the festival protesting unfair treatment with regards to tickets, speaking rights, etc.

Protests emanating from a section of the British youth received wide publicity. CNDers from Britain, Denmark, and the U.S. requested the right to carry their anti-nuclear arms banners in the closing parade as an international group. After being granted this, providing they carried only two identification placards, they were refused at the last minute. Finnish guards and police blocked and dispersed them.

Youths distributing an English-French leaflet issued in the name of several sections of the Fourth International were harassed. Some of the Czech delegation attempted to link it up to **Helsinki Youth News**. But as soon as the Algerian youth saw it they enthusiastically supported it. The leaflet hailed the festival, expressed solidarity with the socialist revolutions of China, Cuba, Algeria and the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet areas, pointing to the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggles as the only path to peace.

Path to Peace

The general non-political character of the festival and possibly the limitations imposed on the discussions resulted in a rather poor attendance at the collegium on Peace. At some points over the three days as few as 200 attended.

The collegium on the Role of Students in the Colonial Struggle saw the Cubans win a tremendous response. They stressed the vanguard role of the students in their revolution and the responsibilities of students in the socialist revolution throughout Latin America.

Other contributions stressed the hope that successes in the disarmament struggles in the imperialist countries would result in the reallocation of these funds from destruction to aid of the colonial peoples struggles. The African, Asian, and Latin American youth vigorously denounced U.S. imperialism.

Several American delegates protested that the USSR and China were guilty of oppressing Hungary and Tibet. African and Puerto Rican delegates replied that when they spoke of imperialism they spoke from a real experience.

The tone of this seminar was more radical than the one on peace. The Albanian delegates made a strong statement in support of the national independence struggle. Their emphasis on the responsibility of the Workers States to support this struggle implied that they were really not doing so.

George thought that the festival was an inspiring event. The main line of the festival was illusory—that imperialism and the threat of nuclear war can be set back by gestures of friendship and solidarity between the youth of many lands. The restrictions imposed by the convenors of those with whom they disagreed also marred it.

But it was a tremendous experience. It provided an opportunity for thousands of colonial youth, many of them active participants in the anti-imperialist and socialist revolutionary struggle, to meet the youth of other lands and to exchange views and experiences. He hopes to attend the 9th Festival to be held next year.

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FROM BLACKPOOL, VANGUARD EDITOR REPORTS ON THE

OCT '62

Political Action of British Unions

By Ross Dowson

BLACKPOOL, Sept 7 — The 94th convention of the British Trade Union Congress, the pioneer of the now world wide trade union movement has just wound to a close. The some 1,000 delegates who attended are now mixing in with the crowd to finish off the weekend in this raucous, gawdy vacation resort on the coastal edge of the industrial heart of England.

The British economy is stagnating. Congress met as figures were released showing that of the 160,000 who joined the work force between June of this year and last, 120,000 went to swell the ranks of the unemployed. The Tory government is introducing drastic cut backs in the nationalized sectors of the economy — in rails and coal. The British Transport Commission has announced with an air of finality that in the next few years 20,000 railwaymen will lose their jobs — 10,000 before the end of next year. Railway men in Scotland are talking general strike. The Tory government is in considerable disorder. Prime Minister Macmillan has conducted a big purge in his cabinet, faces wide spread dissention in the ranks of the back benchers over his decision to project Britain into the Common Market, and has been losing local elections.

But there were no calls for an all out struggle against unemployment sounded at Blackpool. There was not even talk about the need to gear forces to bring the Tory government down and place a Labour government into power. Strange to say perhaps the most radical words uttered from the platform were those of Frank Hall and John Elliott, fraternal delegates hand picked by the Canadian Labour Congress and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. trade union bureaucracy.

Hall scored Diefenbaker for his attempts to impose the crisis of the capitalist sysem on to the backs of the workers through an austerity program that is resulting in higher living costs.

He stated that Canadian labour is seriously considering initiating a drive for a 35 hour work week, which he characterized as a palliative, and wryly reported on the organization of a Socialist cooperative party which by circumstances, he said got the name New Democratic Party.

John Elliott, President of the Street, Electric Railway, and Motor Coach Employees of America, while casting his speech in the frame work of the cold war, declared that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council is launching a sweeping campaign aimed at reducing the standard work week in the U.S. below the present level of 40 hours without a reduction in take home pay . . . "We are going to seek shorter hours" he said, "that will impose penalty pay of double time for hours beyond 35 a week."

In startling contrast to talk of struggle for the 35 hour week to

(See Page 2—NO POLARIS)

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No Polaris Missiles, Say British Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

meet the impact of automation and rising unemployment in the U.S. was the General Council's request that a motion be remitted as it could not accept the statement it contained that automation actually is undermining conditions of workers. Modest words of concern about the developing of unemployment black spots in Scotland and Lancashire were met by spokesmen of the General Council with the statement that they are "convinced the Government is not in possession of all the facts regarding this problem." A motion from the Tobacco Workers calling for a national campaign for a forty hour week (according to a printers trade delegate his union this week was the first to sign a forty hour week) was also remitted on the request of the General Council.

In fact the first two days of the convention were spent by the General Council, with the General Secretary Woodcock as the star performer, in an extravagant attempt to recast the T.U.C.'s image from that of a class organization, certainly from an organization of struggle, into a responsible, reasonable movement that is prepared not only to collaborate with the British bosses but there were even hints of this possibility with a Tory government.

All that the General Council sought, as Woodcock repeated in several major speeches, was to be treated "as responsible, reasonable, decent citizens and we will respond." He appealed to the British ruling class to create "the right mood, to "appeal to the people's sense of responsibility." While upholding the General Council's refusal to participate in one of Macmillan's austerity instruments, the National Income Commission (he characterized it as a Tory attempt to "impose on the T.U.C. political approbrium as a smoke screen for their own inefficiency"). Woodcock came out strongly in favour of participation in the Government's National Economic Development Council.

Spokesmen for the motion urging withdrawal from NEDC challenged that "we who formed the Labour Party are now joining hands with the Tory party to give them respectability". One challenged the General Council with "asking a Tory government to cease acting like a Tory government". Another declared that "we can't change Tories but there is a good chance of them changing you — so keep out!" To a burst of derisive laughter Woodcock replied "We have to discover whether the Tories can be changed."

The Woodcock line was carried throughout the whole of the convention with the big business press hailing it as the "Woodcock Doctrine", "The New Look", "The New Mood".

Labour Victory Sure

But strange to say the mood prevailing in this congress, and which the General Council manipulated, was not one of fear and impotency. Quite the contrary! It was one of tremendous strength.

One of the first speakers to appear before the delegates was the chairman of the Labour Party, Harold Wilson. He spoke entirely within the framework of a Labour Party victory in the coming election being a foregone conclusion. But he added: "If that opportunity is thrown away or endangered by disunity whether from the left or from the right — this movement will be swift to condemn and history slow to forgive."

It was this feeling of massive strength and certainty of electoral victory that was used to put the damper on militancy and action now. "Don't Rock the Boat."

Nonetheless the high level of political savvy and class consciousness of the British workers broke through, particularly in the closing days.

Perhaps the high spot of all the debates was the contribution of James Mortimer, research officer for the Draughtmen's and Allied Technicians Union, on the Common Market. The General Council's position was wait and see—but presented in the general framework of support. Mortimer lucidly and effectively presented the Socialist viewpoint. He scored the Treaty of Rome as prejudicing powers of economic planning in Britain: "It is no accident" he declared, "that full employment is not written into the treaty." He ridiculed the claims that the Common Market was a move towards unity. "It is the reverse," he declared. "It is an anti-socialist treaty — for profit and private enterprise." As an alternative Mortimer advocated trade with the "Communist countries, with the newly independant nations and the Commonwealth". Despite the fact that all the major and decisive unions with their blocked votes supported the General Council, opposition to entry in the Common Market won over two million votes.

No Polaris Missiles

Friday morning saw the motion for an H Bomb test ban slide through with unanimity. Last year T.G.W.U. leader Frank Cousins lead the fight for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. This year's debate found him silent on the platform smarting visibly when his General Council colleague, speaking for its rejection, dragged in Cousin's former chief Ernest Bevin as the man who, when as foreign secretary paved the way for the NATO alliance.

John Horner, who moved the motion, asked: "How do you condition people's minds to accept the idea of nuclear death?" And he answered: "You keep quiet about it. So you don't waste time on the Friday morning of a busy conference whose agenda is crowded with vital items." He ridiculed those who condemn Germans who say they knew nothing about Buchenwald and Auschwitz, but who soft pedal all the knowledge that everyone has of what nuclear arms can lead to. The motion went down to a three to one hand vote defeat.

When the motion calling for the removal of Polaris bases from Britain came on the floor Cousins spoke up in its support. It had been narrowly defeated last year. Over the strong opposition of the General Council the delegates voted two to one in support of the motion, to deal the Council its major defeat of the week.

American Unionism?

In an interview with the Industrial Correspondent of the Daily Express, at midpoint of the convention, General Secretary George Woodcock said of the British Trade unionist of the future, he "will be much nearer the modern American conception of the trade unionist than the present British conception. He will be a lot less concerned with class . . . Solidarity as a class will be replaced by uniformity as citizens . . . The present trade unionist has for the most part been brought up on the idea of working class solidarity. Circumstances—fear of losing his job, fear of being oppressed, compelled him to realize he had a lot in common with other workers. But now these external circumstances have changed. The trade unionist of 1965 will calculate more on the basis of his own individual advantage."

While the extended period of economic stability that Britain has undergone has had some impact on the thinking of the British worker, Woodcock's statement more accurately reflects the thinking and the wishes of the trade union bureaucracy than any fundamental change in the British worker.

A notable feature of the British Trade Union Congress is the highly insensitive and undemocratic block vote system—and at this convention, the high proportion of functionaries and delegates well on in years.

Woodcock's victory at Blackpool will no doubt carry over to the coming national convention of the Labour Party at Brighton. But this convention will be more representative and the resolutions already on the order paper are left indeed. The Observer struck a more cautious note than Woodcock when it commented "Under the Attlee administration the General Council sought to support the governments appeal for wage restraint, but failed to hold back the unions after 1950." And not only have broad layers of British workers learned from the experience with Attlee, who when in office failed to implement the program of the British Labour Party, but from the Aneurin Bevin betrayal too.

by R.D. in Britain

 #80

Sure of Victory in Next Elections
BLP Convention Avoids Conflicts

(BRIGHTON, England, Oct. 8)

This is a pre-election convention. An election is approaching which everyone is convinced labour is going to win. A powerful feeling of unity pervades this conference. And there is grave fear, even on the part of the right wing, which has utilized this feeling to inhibit the left, of it itself appearing to be divisive.

This convention has come out unanimously in opposition to H-Bomb testing, to nuclear testing by any power—the U.S., the U.S.S.R. or France. This motion was passed with tremendous exuberance only a matter of minutes after the floor let the NEC get away with its statement that it needed a free hand on nationalization. To everyones' astonishment, the NEC climbed onto the caravan.

Frank Cousins on behalf of the TGWU moved the motion and accepted an amendment calling on the NEC, CLPs and affiliated organizations to campaign energetically on this vital issue of party policy. Cousins rapped the knuckles of the NEC. "I do not accept the reference they make," he said, "in their annual report that justifies in their opinion the resumption of tests by Western Powers." He expressed regret that the parliamentary Labour Party had not seen fit to make "a sufficiently strong protest" when testing was resumed this year. He called for an end of the double talk, the double thinking and double dealing on this subject as he called for opposition to all testing.

In his reply for the NEC Sam Watson, over protests shouted from the floor, lamely attempted to justify the leadership's policy. But climb onto the anti-nuclear tests caravan they did. Chairman Wilson told the conference "don't look a gift horse in the mouth," and the motion carried unanimously.

The first major item before the sea of delegates was what was designated on the agenda as Transport Policy — pages 82-84. This you would anticipate would force on to the floor an inspiring demonstration of solidarity with the railway strike that was certain to burst out the next night and paralyze the country for 24 hours. But the delegates heard nothing about the strike. The convention actually did talk about resolutions 315-330 and composite resolution 25 through a carefully selected group of trade union bureaucrats and would-be and present members of parliament—selected for the TV audience and in the apparent belief that the last thing in the world this party of labour should do is identify itself with the strike. NEC member Ray Gunter summed of the contributions with the statement that "Labour should say calmly and quietly to the government" that unless it observes the "humanities and decencies" in its attitude to the transport workers "there would otherwise be trouble" — without so much as mentioning the strike that was about to engulf the country.

Everything seemed so completely under control that when the result of the first card (recorded) vote was made known, it burst over the leadership like a bomb. The vote was on a resolution demanding that the party restore to its program the municipal ownership of all rented properties. It was lost by the narrowest of margins, 3,052,000 to 3,092,000. The housing debate was a far-reaching one. One resolution from Toxteth CLP presented by Pat Wall urged public ownership of the building and the building supply industries and the outright nationalization of the freehold of all building land.

The job of killing the resolution on municipal ownership of all rented properties was handed by the NEC to sometime leftwinger Anthony Greenwood who double talked about changed circumstances and changing remedies.

The easy rejection on Friday of a motion calling for the nationalization of engineering chemicals and building effectively presented by Barbara Slaughter of East Leeds by a vote of 4,260,000 to 1,583,000 might appear to be in massive contradiction to Monday's vote on housing.

Mrs. Slaughter's presentation was a devastating one. She challenged the party to explain the need of taking more of the economic power and resources from the employing class and to lead a fight. The NEC's responsibility, she said, was to give leadership and not attend confidential meetings of Boards of Directors to make guarantees that the next Labour Government would not maltreat them. The answer to the Tory plan, in or out of the Common Market, she said, was to put an end to a situation where the private owners of the three industries under debate held power. Talk about Let Britain Lead and Forward Britain was meaningless unless it meant that British labour should reassert its socialist policies and show the way to a Socialist United States of Europe.

But the debate was a restrained one. NEC spokesman Davies' rejoinder that "it is impossible to say what industries require government attention until the party is in power" went unchallenged, despite the long-standing differences between the leadership and powerful forces in the ranks. Mr. Davies even won agreement from the mover of a motion calling for the nationalization of the whole civil air transport, steel, road haulage and water, to remit it.

Kennedy's Cuba Blockade Dynamite to Br. Tories

LONDON, Oct. 28 — President Kennedy's unilateral action against Cuba has placed a political powder keg under the British Tory government. Mr. Macmillan's government with its fondness for talking of the "special relationship" existing in the Anglo-American alliance "could hardly have had its dependent status more brutally spelt out to it than it has been this week," writes Anthony Howard in the left liberal **New Statesman** (Oct. 26).

Howard sees Kennedy's actions and Macmillan's submission as "a fuse wire that could well set off a dangerous explosion among

Not only is Macmillan in dire difficulty with his own party but with British public opinion. "To British opinion the American attitude to Cuba has always seemed a mixture of the hysterical, the petulant and the absurd," writes Howard.

Not the least of the British bourgeoisie's worry is the fear that the Labour Party will capitalize on the massive popular protests that have surged up in the last few days. Official Labour Party reaction has been extremely equivocal. The Gaitskell leadership's first move in the crisis was to demand that Macmillan go to Washington, in this way hoping

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R.D. in Britain

NOV. '62

BLP Convention Has Wide Impact

BRIGHTON, England—The British Labour Party's 61st annual conference is over. The some 1300 delegates representing thousands of constituency Labour Parties across England, Scotland and Wales, cooperative societies and the trade unions—there is scarcely a union and certainly none of any size that is not affiliated to the Labour Party—have returned to their homes and their places of work.

As distorted as it is, there is perhaps no more accurate barometer anywhere of any sector of the international working class movement than the convention of the British Labour Party—the organized political expression of one of he most massive, most strategically-situated and most class-conscious sections of the world working class. This was a pre-election convention. It is doubtful that there will be another before a general election which will in all probability see the party take office.

The conference opened with the declaration by Harold Wilson that the party is on the "threshhold of victory" . . . not seeking for an electoral victory based on a mere swing against the government. "This party is a moral crusade or it is nothing. That is why we have rejected timorous and defeatist proposals for a Liberal-Labor alliance. We are not going to sail into power under any flags of convenience. We seek the privilege of serving Britain as its government on one basis only—to seek a majority on a socialist mandate."

The conference closed with a rousing rendition of the "Red Flag" with the words:

The People's flag is deepest red,
It sheltered oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold,
Their hearts' blood dyed its every fold.

(Chorus)

Then raise the scarlet standard high,
Beneath its shade we'll live and die.
Tho' cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the red flag flying here!

Look 'round! The Frenchman loves its blaze;
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung;
Chicago swells its surging throng.

The highlights of the convention were:

The unanimous declaration of firm and irreconcilable opposition to nuclear arms testing by any power—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., France.

The decisive rejection by the rank and file of the leadership's attempts to insert a "guilt by association" clause in the constitution.

The debate for municipal ownership of rental housing and the debate on resolutions urging public ownership of the steel and chemical industry.

The resolution and speech by party leader Hugh Gaitskell which places a question mark around the participation of a Labor Britain and now even a Tory Government Britain in the European market.

These and other aspetcs of the convention are reported in the following articles. (See Pages 2 and 3.)

Crisis Sparks British Protests

LONDON, Oct. 28—In defiance of government refusal to allow the use of Trafalgar Square in the heart of London for a demonstration several thousand people packed into the Square on Sat., Oct. 27, to protest against the threat of war arising from U.S. government actions against Cuba.

Sporadic clashes with the police and attempts of many to speak in the Square resulted in the arrest of 150. The demonstration was organized by the Committee of 100 headed by the eminent philosopher Bertrand Russell. Russell in a letter to Khrushchov earlier in the week appealed to him "not to be provoked by the unjustifiable action of the United States" and congratulated him on his "courageous stand for sanity." On the other hand he urged Kennedy "most strongly" to make a conciliatory reply to Khrushchov.

Another London demonstration of 500 organized by the British Peace Committee and the Youth Peace Campaign marched from Soho Square to the U.S. Embassy to hand in a message of protest about Cuba. Glasgow, Scotland saw 1,000 demonstrators march in protest against America's Cuban policy. Forty were arrested, among them several youth, during a Committee of 100 demonstration in Albert Square, Manchester.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom, sponsored by a galaxy of Labour MPs and others, scored "the illegal act of the United States in clamping a blockade on Cuba, thereby bringing the world to the brink of war."

Many new forms of protest arose demonstrating the breadth and scope of the revulsion of the British people to the State Department's actions. Some 600 students at Chichester High School for Girls in Sussex decided to go without dinner one day this week as a protest. Forty boys and girls from the senior sixth form of Midhurst Grammar School, Sussex, refused to attend lessons.

Seven hundred Manchester students packed a meeting in the university student's union building to applaud Sir Andrew Murray, vice-president of the Scottish Liberal Party as he said the Americans had brought on the present crisis by their own "folly and ignorance."

A "hands off Cuba" parade of 140 students and staff of the University appeared on Leicester streets. The American consul in Birmingham was presented with a petition signed by 170 university students protesting against U.S. action. Some 70 students from King's College paraded with "Hands Off Cuba" placards through Newcastle, and decided to set up a "Cuba Defence Committee."

More than 80 members of the staff of Edinburgh University have signed a letter to Prime Minister Macmillan urging, "At this moment of extreme crisis it is imperative for the people of Britain and for her Majesty's government to state in the plainest terms that they will refuse to be drawn into a world conflict on this issue."

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Full Breadth of Labor Politics Displayed at Evening Rallies

NOV '62

By Ross Dowson

Everyone comes to the Labour Party conference. As you approach the hall, morning and afternoon, at the beginning of each session you run a veritable gauntlet of leaflet distributors and newspaper and pamphlet promoters. There is no hostility on the part of the delegates to the material of any current or tendency. On the contrary, there is a healthy interest and anticipation of receiving any and all material. There is obviously a deep-rooted and healthy concept that the British Labour Party belongs not to any particular tendency but to the class as a whole. If a distributor is slow a long queue soon builds up.

Everyone is here! Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League with the militant Newsletter which the leadership managed to proscribe. Ted Grant with "Labour's Marxist paper" Socialist Fight. The New Left greeted the delegates each day with a bulletin containing sometimes pentrating comments and witty cartoons on the previous days' sessions. It is being published with the aid of the Brighton Fabian Society whose insignia is the tortoise and slogan "the inevitability of gradualness" and which advertises its bookstore just a block or two away. Members of the Communist Party are pushing their pamphlet "Say No to the Common Market" which is permeated with anti-German chauvinism and social patriotic appeals about the Commonwealth connection. The sectarian Socialist Party of Great Britain is here. One of its supporters, holding out a pamphlet, cried out as I passed by at this time of great debate on the Common Market, "Abolish the Common Market by abolishing capitalism." There is the Tribune, the Young Socialist paper Young Guard which has so far survived the investigations of the right-wing party leadership, and Roger Protz with Keep Left, the Young Socialist monthly which refuses to die on orders from George Brown.

There are leaflets from the Movement for Colonial Freedom, from CND, from committees of pro and anti common marketeers, from unions on strike, from constituency parties such as Horsham that asks for support of their appeal that Ernie Roberts be endorsed by the NEC as their parliamentary candidate.

And there are notices of and tickets being sold for the dozens of meetings being held by various groups and formations every evening following the termination of the convention's sessions.

Many Evening Meets

Of course it is impossible to attend three and four meetings on the same evening, so I picked out those I thought to be of greatest interest to Canadian workers.

I missed the Sunday pre-convention affairs—the Victory for Socialism Rally addressed by MPs Konni Zilliacus and Sydney Silverman who have been deprived by the right wing of membership in the Parliamentary Labour Party — and the Town Cabaret with its satires and songs provided by internationally-known entertainers who identify themselves with labour and its left wing.

On Monday I went to the meeting called by the Labour Common Market Committee sponsored by, among others, Will Lawther and Herbert Morrison, the former Sir, the latter Lord Morrison of Lambeth, and the former labour leftist, now on the extreme right, the Right Honorable John Strachey MP. It was called for 7.15 and hadn't started by 7.45. There was only a handful of very well dressed persons in attendance, including Canada's New Democratic Party leader Morden Lazarus who will possibly be reporting it.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom which called a meeting on Tuesday is an important group with considerable potential, uniting as it does all the diverse forces that identify themselves with the struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom from imperialist exploitation. Its sponsors include over 100 MPs, and unions with over a total membership of three million are affiliated to it. The 250 people heard MP Fenner Brockway and MP Barbara Castle make the major addresses. But alas — Brockway has swallowed the U.S. State Department's lie that Cuba is a Soviet satellite and all that that means in the daily press. As for Barbara Castle — imperialism is not the highest stage of capitalism but a psychological condition. "Corruption lies potentially at the heart of everyone of us," she cried.

Big "Tribune" Session

The Tribune's was the largest of all the meetings—attracting the broadest layers of the left in the British Labour Party. Some 700 to 750 people, many of them youth, jammed the town hall of nearby Hove. Appropriately, MP Ian Mikardo introduced as the first speaker National Union of Railwaymen leader Bill Ballantyne, fresh from the battle lines of the first national rail strike since the 1926 General Strike.

Ballantyne, expressing great pleasure in speaking on a political platform, made a militant defense of the strike which he said was a fight to maintain a nationalized enterprise against the encroachments of capitalism and the Tories. The big mistake, he said, at the time of the nationalization legislated by the Labour Party was that we didn't get rid of Tory management. He urged the audience to win us back to a socialist policy.

Mikardo, before introducing the next speaker, revealed that the leadership of the Labour Party when it came to nationalize the railways gave way time and tim again to Tory pressure that the should be operated on the sam basis as before—on a capitalis basis. He said that there was n use Ray Gunter, a notorious righ winger, denouncing the Torie

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U.S. HITS AT ALGERIA TOO CLOSE TO CUBA

The U.S. State Department on October 26, peak day of the recent crisis, cut off all economic assistance to Algeria because Premier Ben Bella had a few days earlier visited Cuba following his talks with President Kennedy, and publicly opposed U.S. policies towards Cuba.

Traditionally neutral African and Asian delegations to the U.N. were formally warned that this action had been taken.

On Oct. 16 a 21 gun salute boomed out to Ben Bella in Havana. "To visit Cuba at a time when the U.S. is redoubling its criminal blockade . . . when the Yankee imperialists threaten to attack, is on your part an act of political firmness and valor," declared Castro.

Ben Bella hailed what he called the Cuban revolution's extraordinary progress and presented to Castro a Golden Medal of Honor, the only one yet granted by the National Liberation Front (FLN).

"Algeria is and will be with Cuba" he said. "History has willed it that both peoples meet on the road to liberation."

He denounced the U.S. economic squeeze against Cuba as a "blow to the sovereignty and independence of a country," and praised the Oct. 8 speech to the U.N. by Cuban President Dorticos.

Summarizing Algeria's foreign policy, Ben Bella said: "We are against colonialism and imperialism in all open or covert forms; we are against nuclear tests and zones of influence as well as the armaments race and racial discrimination . . . These are the ideals which inspire our policy of non-alignment."

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and urging at the convention that the railway shops should be allowed to compete with private enterprise when he knows that it was "our own" Herbert Morrison who limited their scope. "We subsidized food and clothing because it was produced by private enterprise—some of said we should subsidize coal—but it was decided that it must pay its own way." "I reveal this," he said, "for the future labour government of 1963."

Reverend Donald Soper, while identifying Christianity with socialism, gave it a very substantial material base by firmly declaring that the way was through public ownership of the basic means of production. He scored the U.S. State Department for its blockade against Cuba. There was no difference in principle, he said, in burning human beings in concentration camp ovens from starving them to death.

Michael Tallentyne, one of the four Young Socialist Executive members who had been suspended by the LP NEC but has himself just been reinstated, made a vigorous plea for democracy in the party. He ridiculed the charge that has been flung at the left of being opposed to socialism by the ballot box. Referring to the suspension of those who had been elected to the executive of the Young Socialists, he challenged—"What happened to the YS ballot box?"

Michael Foote Barred

With a crack that he had taken due note of all of Tallentyne's "bad remarks" and a few quips about McCarthyism, Mikardo introduced Michael Foote, successor to Aneurin Bevan's seat at Ebbw Vale but barred from the convention as the right wing has removed the parliamentary whip from him.

Foote made a tremendous oration. Foote saw the convention as scoring two great successes for the cause of socialism and democracy. With the rank and file throwing out the "guilt by association clause" that the NEC sought to put into the constitution, he said, the NEC will be more hesitant about embarking on these grubby disciplinary measures in the future. He stressed the importance of getting more left representation on the NEC.

Foote declared the position taken on the Common Market to be the other great success of the convention. He viewed Gaitskell as having committeed the party to a position—"a real position." He praised the official statement as being "very good""—"the terms are clear and unobtainable. The speech," he said, "was even better." Foote saw the question of the Common Market and the opposition to which he thinks Gaitskell is committed to be a desirable election issue. The NEC knew that if it "had come with a George Brown policy (entry into the Common Market), the party would have been split from top to bottom," he declared.

Election Over EGM?

He urged that an election "has to be forced." "I can't agree with those who say you can't force an election," he said, to a tumultuous burst of applause.

Foote made no reference to the fact that following Gaitskell's speech the motion that the party fight the election on this issue, despite the fact that it had the support of the large block vote in the hands of the TGWU, was defeated on a card count of 4,482,000 to 1,943,000.

And even if it were a desirable issue around which to fight an election—it is difficult for this observer to see how a struggle around this question effectively prepares the British masses for the task of building a socialist Britain—is it one that would cut into Liberal and Tory support and rally labor to power? A Gallup Poll published just prior to the convention showed that only 30% would disapprove of British entry while 40% would vote Labour in an immediate general election.

Workers' Vanguard #80 - November 1962

R.D. in Britain

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Democracy in BLP Reaffirmed - For Some

NOV '62

BRIGHTON, England—The fact that they had reaffirmed the essentially democratic character of the party in the closed afternoon session found the delegates on Wednesday evening in a jubilant mood. That afternoon, on a card vote of 3,493,000 to 2,793,000, they had tossed out an NEC proposed amendment to the constitution that would bar from membership in the party anyone who was so much as associated with any of the growing number of organizations that are on the proscribed list.

Deputy leader George Brown opened the debate. Brown, it turns out, has been for the past nine years the labor advisor for the anti - working - class Daily Mirror. It was he and his cohorts who initiated the motion to drive the renowned philosopher Bertrand Russell, CND leader Canon Collins and others from the party for participating in the Moscow Peace Conference. When Russell countered with a demand for an investigation of the NEC for defying Scarborough convention decisions, Brown tried to jump him for non-payment of dues. The deputy leader studiously avoided any mention of the Russell case. Of course he denied that the motion was a witch-hunting one. It was designed, he said, to loud laughter from the floor, to defend the party ranks from the wiles of Communists and Trotskyists.

It appears that only one constituency party delegate spoke in favor of the amendment and she did so in the face of considerable heckling from the delegates. Both Tom Hill, general secretary of the Boilermakers and Frank Cousins of the Transport and General Workers Union opposed the "guilt by association" amendment. Cousins expressed confidence that the NEC would not abuse the new powers it sought but thought the existing ones were enough. I understand that Queen's Councillor and MP Elwyn Jones played an important role in defeating the NEC by explaining the unprecedented and far-reaching character of the proposition. He told them that at Nuremberg where he was a judge no one even dreamt of imposing guilt by association, even with the hated SS.

Very early there were cries for next business which chairman Wilson let know would be a satisfactory method of handling the resolution. Many think that right-wing MP Charles Pannel's attack on the CND leaders had much to do with the defeat of the amendment when Wilson finally accepted the plea for next business and a card vote. A card vote would strongly favor the NEC. But this time a sizeable number of block votes held by trade union delegates were cast with the almost unanimous opposition votes from the constituency labor party delegates. The motion for next business passed and the NEC amendment which would have gone a long way towards destroying the Labour Party as an instrument of working class struggle was defeated.

This devastating blow against the leadership's witch hunting in the party did not carry over to the closed Thursday afternoon session when a whole block of resolutions on party organization came on the floor. Sandwiched among these resolutions, many of them relatively unimportant, were resolutions protesting the undemocratic interference of the national leadership in the internal affairs of the Young Socialists—in particular the proscription of the Young Socialist paper Keep Left.

The conference only started to discuss this section at 3.45 p.m. While urging rapid progress, chairman Wilson allowed lengthy discussion on many minor points. On one occasion after he had ruled two delegates out of order, the NEC nonetheless made a summary contribution. Only at 4.55 was one of the Young Socialists able to get the mike to deplore that in three years the NEC had not arranged to discuss the Young Socialists. At 5.00 o'clock, the time of adjournment, a motion was put to adopt the report as a whole. It carried by an overwhelming majority.

Thus the Labour Party finds itself in the ludicrous position of having defeated a "guilt by association" amendment on Tuesday and on Thursday approving of the proscription of Keep Left without a hearing and the expulsion of Roger Protz from the party for association with it.

Friday morning's session opened with a couple of delegates attempting to reopen the question with a motion for reference back. But the motion was decisively defeated. That same morning every delegate received a letter at the entrance from Keep Left. The letter protested Keep Left's proscription without an enquiry and now its denial of right of appeal Although the party's constitution lays it down that appeals against NEC actions can be made at conference.

Keep Left declares that the fight against its proscription is only beginning and urges the delegates to raise this matter in their local party or trade union, demanding that the proscription be immediately lifted and a proper enquiry held.

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Editorial #81 Mid-Dec. 1962

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Stop RCMP Methods from Disrupting NDP

By THE EDITOR

Bold words are being spoken by New Democratic MP's in condemnation of the RCMP for its harassment of such minority organizations as the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, its utilization of students to inform on their fellow students, friends and teachers, for employing police state methods which make a mockery of the democratic process.

Addressing himself to Justice Minister Fleming, Tom Berger (Vancouver-Burrard), has condemned RCMP's activities as leading to the curbing of freedom of discussion, thought, and the development of ideas. Denouncing "guilt by association" and "guilt for the holding of dangerous thoughts" Berger declared that the only evidence that justifies intervention "is evidence of overt acts . . . not tittle tattle and gossip that we have found has in so many cases prompted these interrogations . . . ."

Fine words, brave and necessary words, but don't they apply equally to the situation that has now been so sharply revealed as existing inside the New Democratic Party by the expulsion of 11 members from the BC youth section?

Hasn't the technique of the RCMP, of the police state, been brought holus-bolus into the ranks of the New Democratic Party in this situation—guilt by association, guilt for holding dangerous thoughts, tittle tattle and gossip, and not overt acts against the interests of the party?

True to form with other witch-hunts, this one is not going to end with the 11. One cannot help but suspect that this action taken by certain elements in the youth movement was in the nature of a test, a probe by the BC NDP leadership—to be emulated by who else? The provincial council of the BC section not only failed to intervene but such a prominent party spokesman as President Fred Vulliamy has suggested that actions are underway to purge the 11 from the adult party also, and that others face similar treatment.

Provincial leader Robert Strachan, fresh from his crime against the trade union militants at Allied picket line, cynically bared the purpose of the

(See Page 3—EXPULSIONS)

Expulsions Everybody's Business

DEC '62

(Continued from Page 1)

campaign. It is designed to outlaw certain ideas in the movement, "philosophies" which Strachan arrogantly decries "reflect a dead past". NDY President Everett Northrup tries to make such a scandalous action more palatable for the unwary by ascribing to the 11 expelled, according to a CP dispatch, "advocacy of a Marxist-Leninist state by undemocratic means." Of course nothing has been presented, not a single statement of any kind, written or spoken, by any one of the accused, or the LSA which they have been condemned for associating with, that sustains this typical McCarthyite charge. This is a page torn whole from the handbook of the witch-hunters.

What is this entire action if it is not an attempt to curb freedom of discussion, thought and the development of ideas?

Naturally it has little beginnings. Just one year ago all BC NDP units received notice that the provincial executive decided that distribution of the *Vanguard* or *The Press* by a party member is grounds for expulsion. Now, it's association with the League for Socialist Action—for Trotskyism—which on the evidence of Mr. Coldwell, given in his 25th CCF anniversary speech, was present in the very beginnings of the CCF and is obviously a term used by the liberal-reformist wing of the party to mark off their most consistant and principled socialist opponents.

Where will it all end? The fact is that once this virus takes hold no one actually knows. McCarthyism, getting a foothold, swept upwards to challenge the holder of the highest post in U.S. public office. Strachan and company may be taking such actions in an attempt to prove the orthodoxy of the party to conservative strata of the electorate, and its reliability to certain circles of Big Business, in the hope that such actions will help win them provincial office. But having established the NDP's orthodoxy where does this leave it in the competition with the traditional parties of orthodoxy? And with the framed-up evidence of subversive tendencies within the party, drawn up with the authority of the leadership itself, no less, what is to stop opponents condemning the party root and branch with being itself a seed-bed for subversive ideas—and thereby defeating it with means manufactured by the leadership?

Make no mistake! The life of socialist ideas, of the *Vanguard* and of the League for Socialist Action is not at stake. The truth can be harassed, it can be proscribed but it cannot be destroyed! Under the blows of the right wing the forces in and around the LSA become only more convinced of the correctness of their cause. No matter what the outcome of this phase of the struggle the LSA will prevail.

What is at stake, is the future of the New Democratic Party. For the NDP has a future only in so far as it remains an arena for the free expression and circulation of ideas and not just the ideas or prejudices of a group which at a given moment happens to have the majority. The NDP has a future only in so far as it is a democratic movement, financed and controlled by the membership with the aim of reshaping Canadian society in the interests of the working people.

That is why, and not at all from any narrow interests, we say that the action against the 11 is everybody's business. Not BC NDP business but the business of NDPers across the country. Not NDP constituency organization business but the business of every union local that supports the NDP. It is the business of the Canadian people at large for the NDP is the hope and the future of the Canadian working class. Halt the witch hunt in the NDP now, before it is too late!